THE POVVERFVLL FAVORITE,

OR,

The life of ÆLIVS SEIANVS.

By P. Matthieu

Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira Cupido.
Virg. 1. Georg.

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The life of
ÆLIVS SEIANVS
By P.M.

SEeing that Princes dispose soueraignely of their hearts; and that they forme in them loue and hatred, to whom and how they please; Wee had need therefore to desire that their affections to particular men might be iust and well regulated. For if they bee disordered they draw with them publike ruine: they render Princes hatefull, and their Fauourites miserable; when the play is done, and that they are vnshod of their high shooes that eleuated them aboue others, they are dispoyled of the habits of these personages they represented, they returne to their first forme and they come to know that wee must not measure the *Statua* by the *basis* that susteynes it, nor iudge of a man by his dignitie or fortune.

The heart of the Prince is free, and is not guided but by the hand of God.

Excalcantur & ad staturam suam redeant. Sen.

The heauens being prouoked against the Romane Empire, permitted this deuiating in the minde of *Tiberius*, through the excesse of fauour which hee bare to *Aelius Seianus*, vniting in his person those charges which should haue beene

parted amongst many, and making him so great that it was difficult for him to vnmake him. In the end the ruine of the estate which was the foundation of his greatnesse, was likewise the cause of his fall. He was the son of *Seius Strabo*, a Knight of *Rome*, borne in *Vulsinus*, a country of *Tuscany*. In his youth he serued *Caius Cæsar* the nephew of *Augustus*. Hee shared in the inordinate and abominable vices of *Apicius*, that rich prodigall, that famous glutton, who hauing eaten vp his estate, and finding by his accompt that he had no more then 2 ooooo. crownes remayning, thought himselfe poore, and that this sufficed not to maintayne his luxury: whereupon he conceyued such an extreame apprehension, that death seemed more supportable to him then his pouerty: and tooke downe a glasse of poyson, hee neuer dranke a better draught then this last which stopped the furious course of his dissolutenesse. *Seianus* hauing attained some name in the profession of Armes, *Strabo* his father presented him to *Tiberius*, to permit that he might associate him in the charge of Colonell of the Pretorian Guardes; and from henceforward the Prince began to take pleasure in his watchfulnesse and vinacity, and beleeued that this Spirit might one day by his discipline become an instrument apt to doe any thing. Hee followed *Drusus* the Prince whom the Emperour had made Generall of the Army to reduce vnto obedience those who were reuolted in *Austria* and *Hungarie*.

The expences of *Apicius* his Kitchin, amounted to more then 2. millions of gold. *H.S. Millies in culinam contessit.* Sen.

Illi tam praua menti homini vltima potio salutberrima fuit, Sen.

Rector inuenis & ceteris periculorum præmiorumque ostentator.

The first demonstration of *Tiberius* affection to him

him was to elect him for Tutor to this Prince, and to giue to others the example of merit to attaine rewards, and of valor to expose themselues to danger. He knew the inward disposition of *Tiberius*, and conformed his owne so perfectly thereunto, that both their hearts seemed to haue but one motion. This conformitie entertayned the affection, and from thence grew that entire confidence that *Tiberius* who distrusted all men, distrusted not *Seianus*, nor withheld any thing secret or hidden from him.

Tiberium obscurum aduersus alios, illi nemo incautum intuitumq; efficit. Tacitus.

This fauour attracted all hearts, all eyes followed this new light; the Senate communicated to him their weighty affayres; and from his mouth receiued their most important dispatches: euery where one might see ceremonious troopes which searched or attended for him to doe him reuerence. The great ones held themselues honoured by his commands; if hee speakes hee obligeth them, if he regard, they are contented: they wayt in the morning at the gates of his house; they are there at his rising and going to bed; others endure the affronts of his doorekeepers whom they bribe to be at the first opening or admission. And when they present themselues to the Idoll which they adore, happy is hee that can faine the greatest admiration to prayse him, or seruitude to flatter him. To speake after the minde of some great man, to consent to all that is said, to admire all that is done, to approoue all that he will, these are the principall peeces of complement; and admiration is euer one continuall part in the office of flattery.

Turba salutatrix.

Duras fores experiri omnis colit. Sen.

In the growing of his grace he was desirous to haue it conceyued that he was founded in a firme resolution

Incipiente potentia bonis consilijs innotescendum. Tacit.

to aduance the ſeruice of the Prince, and the good of the weale publique, and onely to admit iuſtice in his actions, prudence in his counſayle, and modeſty in his fortune: he carried in outward appearance moderation, but inwardly ambition: but hee flew out in his waſtefull expences and prodigalities, in the magnificence of his houſhold furniture and pictures, in the exceſſe of his ſumptuous feaſts as if they had beene ſacrifices, and in the pride of his Palaces gilded as if they had beene Temples: hee was induſtrious and vigilant to attaine to his ends: he had a ready vnderſtanding to diſcouer and to apprehend all ſorts of formes, accommodating himſelfe to plainneſſe or ſeuerity according to the occaſions.

Palam compoſitus pudor, intus ſumma adipiſcendi libido. Tacit.

Induſtria & vigilantia haud minus noxiæ, quoties parando regno fingunturr. Tac.

Being ſole captaine of the Prætorian guards, he cauſed them to lodge within a quarter of a mile of the city, that when there was occaſion he might haue them ready at his diſpoſing, repreſenting to *Tiberius* that ſouldiers being diſperſed liued without diſcipline; and that ſeeing them euery day aſſembled together in one place, the number might breed ſecurity to themſelues, and feare to others, and that keeping them farre from the debauchements of the City, they might the better be kept in order.

Laſciuit miles deductus. Tac.

This being aſſented vnto, and a lodging aſſigned, he began by little and little to gaine credit and reſpect in the hearts of the ſouldiers viſiting them in their *Corps du Guard*, calling them by their names, endearing the Captaynes and Tribunes, feeding the one with hopes, the other with gifts, and all with good words, whereof he was nothing couetous or ſparing.

Vallum ſtatuatur procul vrbis illecebris. Tac.

Neque ambitu Senatorio abſtinebat, clientes ſuos honoribus aut prouinciis ornando. Tac.

To ſtrengthen his party he dreſſed his ſpeeches and intelligences

intelligences in the Senate, and procured that his friends ſhould be prouided of Commiſſions, and honoured with charges and gouernments, knowing that it was not ſufficient to hold authority with the Soldierie, if he wanted it with the Senate and Iuſticiars, who held ſo great eſtimation among the people.

In all his deſignes he found in *Tiberius* ſo great facility and affection to his deſires, that he needed onely to aske and giue thankes; hee neuer denied him any thing, and oftentimes he preuented his requeſt, and auowed that he deſerued much more. Wherefore not onely in priuate, but alſo in the Senate hee called him companion of his labours, and commanded that his pourtrayture ſhould be honoured together with his in the ſtreets, reſpected in the Theaters, and carried in the ſtandards of his armies. This is for a Prince to annihilate himſelfe to pleaſe his ſeruant: for it cannot goe well when the people perceiue that fauour transferreth ſoueraigne honours of ſuperiours vpon an inferiour, and that the Prince ſuffereth a companion in the kingdome to aſſiſt him to gouerne. *Hercules* ſaw well that *Atlas* eaſed him, but he made it bee knowne that *Olympus* ſtood more ſecure vpon his ſhoulders, then vpon any others. A kingdome at one and the ſame time can neuer be diuided betweene two.

Seianus ſocius laborum Tiberij. Tac.

Effigies prætheatra, foris & in principia legionum. Tac.

Firmius Herculea ceruice pendit. Claud.

He framed all *Tiberius* his actions to rigour and ſeuerity, to the end that hee might loſe the affections of the people, who could not wiſh him well that did nothing but intreat them ill. It was no hard matter to perſwade him to cruelty, all his inclinations running that way, and in his childehood *Theodorus* his Tutor in Rhetoricke called him *Clay tempered with bloud:*

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so that *Seianus* had no more to doe then to spie and search out occasions to excite his choler, and to exercise his cruelties which would neuer be appeased without sacrifice.

The charges and dignities were conferred vpon his recommendation. It was enough to approoue their merit that they were neere him by kindred or alliance, and to sweare by his fauour; and yet notwithstanding *Tiberius* would it might be knowne, that hee considered more one then another to eschew blame, to take away from vertue to giue to Fortune. *Tiberius* had named two Proconsuls of *Affricke*, *Lepidus* and *Blesus*; and to free himselfe from the ill will of him which should be excluded, he recommended to the Senate the election of the most capable. The one of them was a man of excellent parts, the other was vnkle of *Seianus*, and in that regard alone sure to carry it. *Lepidus* who would not enter into concurrence with the most powerfull and most fauoured, excused himselfe through his indisposition, the yong age of his children & a daughter ready to marry, the Senate tooke him at his word, for they followed the winde of fauour; *Blesus* made semblance to refuse this charge, and all the flatterers cried, that none but he could deserue it.

Auunculus Seiani Blesus atq; eo praevalidus. Tacit.

The same fauour which had raysed him, still supported him, and honoured his best seruices with greatest recompences. After that he had not defeated but routed the troopes of *Tacfarinus*, *Tiberius* commanded the Legions to salute him Emperour, hee ordayned him the triumph which neuer did belong to any, but to an entire victory, and by all meanes declared, that this was done for the loue of *Seianus* his nephew. He

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that had *Seianus* his protector, needed not with any great labour search for honours: hee that had him his enemie languished vnder disgrace and misery. None had any honour without his fauour, and none could deserue it with innocency and vertue. He caused *Iunius Otho* to be admitted into the Senate, who neuer had beene of any other profession then a schoolemaster. He serued his turne to ruine *Ca. Silanus* Proconsull of *Asia*: he accused him of extortion, and in his gouernment to haue giuen greater authority to money then to iustice. This was something, but they added other accusations, out of which the most innocent could hardly haue woun themselues. They brought to speak against him the most famous orators of *Asia*, although he was assisted by no man, nor had yet accustomed himselfe to speake in publike, and that feare that troubled the best speakers and the most hardy eloquence, had disordered his discourse.

Vt quisq; Seiano intimus ita ad Cæsaris amicitiam validus: contra quibus infensus esset metu & sordibus conflictabantur. Tacit.

Proprius metus exercitam quoq; eloquentiam debilitat. Tacit.

Tiberius pressed him both by voice and by gesture so liuely, and by his demands so frequent and spritefull that he was as it were astonished, neither durst he contradict for feare of prouoking him; and seeing himselfe constrayned to confesse lest hee should make the demands ineffectuall. O what misery was this! The respect of the Prince obligeth the accused to betray his owne innocency.

Sæpe etiam confitendum erat ne frustra quæsiuisset. Tacit.

Amongst the number of his accusers, *Iunius Otho* a creature of *Seianus*, was the most passionate; for being newly entred into this charge of Senator, he sought occasions to aduance the obscurity of his beginning by the impudence and shamelesnesse of his counsels, holding the most extreame the most safe: *Silanus*

Obscura initia impudentibus ausis propellebat. Tacit.

Excusatius accipiuntur quæ fiunt ab exemplo. Tacit.

chose rather to haue recourse to the goodnesse of *Tiberius*, then to trust to his owne defence, he presented him one request, to implore of him; but *Tiberius* who meant to ruine him, declared that in this accusation, he pursued but the intention of the law.

And forasmuch as that which is done by example, carries it's excuse, hee caused to be brought out of the Registers, a iudgement giuen vnder *Augustus*, against *Volesus Messala*, who had also beene Proconsull of *Asia*; but if their qualities were alike, their liues and their charges were in euery thing different. The one cruell, the other couetous; this was an inhumane man, who passing by a place where hee had caused 300. heads to be cut off in one day, called it a Royall place and of great magnificence.

O rem regiam. Sen.

When they came to deliuer their opinions for the sentence, *Lucius Piso* hauing cast out some clawing words in praise of the clemency of the Emperour, was of opinion that they should prohibite *Silanus* from water and from fire; and that they should banish him into the isle of *Gyara*. This opinion was pursued by others: *Lentulus* added, that the goods that came by the mother should bee left to the sonnes. *Tiberius* approoued it. But *Cornelius Dolobella* flattering more yet, and sharpely blaming *Silanus* his actions, sayd, that thencefoorth they should not giue the gouernement of Prouinces but to those which should bee of vnreproachable life, and of sound reputation; and with the iudgement of the Emperour. For although Law were ordained to no other but to punish offences, yet is it certayne, that it were much better if the committing of them might be hindred, both for those who should

To praise clemency and to conclude with rigor.

Anteire cæteros parat, absurdam in adulationem progressus. Tac.

Legibus delicta [illegible]untur, quanto melius prouideri ne peccaretur. Tacit.

should be honoured with such charges, and for those vpon whom they should be exercised, for these should conserue their innocency, and the other their quiet and repose. *Tiberius* heereupon made a discourse worthy of his prudence and of his knowledge which he had of the people, who are but too prone to denie the actions of Magistrates, as it is now sayd of *Aegypt* that it abounded in speeches and artifices to calumniate their gouernours; and that though many haue eschewed the punishment, yet haue they not freed themselues from the infamy, he spake in this manner:

Loquax & ingeniosa in contumeliam praefectorum prouincia, in quâ qui vilaverit culpam non effugit infamiam. Sen.

I am not ignorant of any thing that is now published against Silanus, *but I must neuer resolue any thing vpon bare reports. Many haue gouerned Prouinces otherwise from that they haue hoped or feared, for the greatnesse and difficulty of affaires which present themselues, rayseth the courage of some, and astonieth and abaseth it in others. And forasmuch as the knowledge of a Prince cannot extend it selfe to all, and may not be diuerted through the ambition of another: Lawes are ordayned for things done; for those things that are to doe are vncertaine. Therefore our Fathers haue ordayned, that if crime preceded, punishments should follow. You ought not to change that, which hauing beene once sagely ordayned, hath beene in all times allowed. The Prouinces are charged with affaires enough: they haue authority enough: the rights diminish when the power increaseth; and we must not vse commandement in those matters for which the Law hath prouided.*

Non ex rumore statuendum. Ta.

Quidam ad meliora excitantur, magnitudine rerum hebescunt alij. Tacit.

Leges in facto constitutae, quia futura in incerto sunt. Tacit.

Sapienter reperta & semper placita non vertenda. Tacit.

Non utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi potest.

This discourse was approoued, and the place of the banishment changed to *Cythara*, because *Gyara* was too rude and wilde; *Tiberius* shewed, that he was able

Prudens moderandi animus, si propriâ irâ non impellitur. Tac.

Prudens moderandi animus si propria ira non impellitur. Tac.

Insula Gyara immitis & sine cultu hominum. Tac.

Qui dabat olim imperium, fasces, legiones &c. duas res tantum anxius optat Pannum & Circenses. Iuuen.

The Theater of *Pompey* was dedicated to *Venus*. *Tertullian* called it *Arcem omnium turpitudinum.*

Labore & diligentia magna vis intra vnum damnum sistitur. Tac.

Non tam beneuolentia prouexit, quam vt cuius ministerio ac fraudibus liberos Germanici superueniret. Sueton.

to moderate his spirit when he was not in choler.

Seianus onely disposed of Offices and Commissions: the people medled no more in the election of Senators; they sold no more their suffrages, nor their canuassings; and for the right which they had to the Commanders ouer the Magistrates and the Legions, they contented themselues with shewes and *Circensian* playes, and the cloth which was giuen them for their Liueries. There was no man now liuing, that had seene the Common wealth, the markes of the ancient liberty were quite defaced.

The greatest ornament of *Rome* was *Pompeies* Theatre, of such extent, that it was able to lodge 40000. men. It happened to be on fire accidentally: *Seianus* quenched it, and hindered it so, that the ill of the accident could goe no further. *Tiberius* purposing to reedifie it, commended in full Senate the diligence and vigilancy of *Seianus*. The Fathers to please him, ordained, that his *Statua* should be erected neere the Theater.

But as Princes doe nothing without some speciall drift or purpose, *Tiberius* in fauouring *Seianus* had one, and *Seianus* in seruing *Tiberius* framed to himselfe another: There is neyther affection nor faythfulnesse without gratuity. *Tiberius* desired that the good will which hee bare to *Seianus* might oblige him to serue him, without any condition to ascertaine his authority: and *Seianus* in seruing the Emperour aspired to the Empire, and would keepe secret his ambition. This was not affection in *Tiberius*, but necessity; for he desired to serue himselfe by the plots and deuices of *Seianus* to ruine *Germanicus* his house, and to raise his

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owne; and *Seianus* purposed to rise to the Empire by the ruine of them both: his power went not so fast as his will that encountred with great hindrances. For *Cæsars* house was yet entire; the sonnes yong and lustie, the grandchildren great, he could not ruine so many at once: for treason will haue some space of time in its wicked proceeding: and hee thought best to begin with *Drusus*, at the same time that *Tiberius* had resolued to make away with *Germanicus*. For as the spirit of a man apprehends more dangers farre off, then present, *Tiberius* saw no other thing that gaue him more cause of iealousie then his brother; and nothing gaue him more cause to feare the ambition of *Seianus*, then his sonne.

The worst counsell which euer hee gaue him was to change that which *Augustus* had ordayned, and hate that he had loued: for the extreame hatred which he bare to *Germanicus* his house, cooled that first affection which he found when he came to the Empire, the people seeing him runne with such fury to the ruine of their liberty, and throwing them headlong like a huge stone into the gulph of seruitude without hope euer to get out.

Roma ruunt in seruitium Consules, Patres, equites. Tac.

Germanicus was both cherished and loued of the people, because he was the sonne of *Drusus*, who had formerly endeuoured to restore the ancient gouernement of the Common wealth, and had communicated the proiect to *Tiberius* his brother: but hee had bewrayed it and discouered it to *Augustus*. It was thought that the sonne would haue pursued the design of the father to haue reuiued the liberty: and that if he had had the soueraigne authority, hee would not haue

Credebatur si rerum potitus foret libertatem redditurus. Tac.

vſed them with ſuch rigour as *Tiberius* did, but ſweetly as *Auguſtus*, who was a Prince and ſeemed a Citizen, and diſdayned not to beare a part in popular recreations. For this cauſe *Germanicus* reigned in the hearts, and *Tiberius* but in the Prouinces; and when it was aduertiſed that he had pacified *Almaigne*, that *Agrippina* his wife alſo had done all which a Chiefe or Generall of an army could doe, to ſhew her courage to her enemies, her liberality to the ſouldiers, her prudence in appeaſing ſeditions, ſtraightwayes hee waxed iealous, and that iealouſie degenerated into a mortall hatred. *What remayned more to the Emperour* (ſayd he) *then for a woman to command ouer men, to viſit the* Corps du Guarde, *obliging the ſouldiers by good words, and great rewards.*

Auguſtus ciuile rebatur miſceri voluptatibus vulgi. Tac.

Nil relictum Imperatoribus, vbi fœmina manipulos interuiſat, ſigna adeat, largitionem tentat. Tac.

Seianus, who loued not *Agrippina*, and knew *Tiberius* his humour, who could not brooke that any ſhould buſtle with the ſoueraigne authority, which was ſo delicate and tender, that it would take hurt by the leaſt touch, wanted no diſcourſe to entertaine the iealouſie and ſuſpitions; and added defiance to ſuſpitions, and to ſuſpition feare, preparing long before, hatred againſt this Prince, to the end that at his determined time it might fall vpon him to his deſtruction.

Odia in longum iaciens quæ reconderet auctaque promeret. Tac.

Germanicus returning from *Almaigne*, all the City was in a iollity. *Tiberius* commanded that onely two Companies of the guardes ſhould bee ſent to receiue him. All the people ranne with great haſte, to the end they might ſpeedily enioy the ſight of him whom they had ſo long a time deſired and expected. *Tiberius* heerupon conceyued ſo great deſpite, that hee reſolued to make an end of this braue Prince, who had ſcarcely entred

Populus omnis vſque ad viceſimum lapidem ſe effudit. Suet.

entred into the fower and thirtieth yeere of his age, and had already attayned ſo much reputation as any other could attaine in his whole life.

This letted *Seianus* who being vrged with the deſire to raigne, thought that this great power which he had in the managing of affayres was but ſeruitude, ſo long as hee was to acknowledge any ſuperiour. *Tiberius* by his aduice ſent *Germanicus* into *Sclauonia*, vnder the colour of honouring him with the moſt principall commands of the Empire, hee appointed for his Lieutenant *Cn. Piſo* a malicious, proud and violent man, with power to watch ouer his actions, and to thwart his deſignes. It is reported that *Seianus* gaue him charge in writing to put this poore Prince to death.

Sceleratis ingeniis & plusquam ciuilia cupientibus non dominari inſtar ſeruitutis eſt.

He put it in execution. *Germanicus* went into *Aegypt*, and being there, was deſirous to ſee their *Oxeged Apis*, to know what his fortune ſhould bee. *Apis* would take nothing at his hand; and this was taken for a certaine preſage of his death. Hee was ſtricken with a long and greeuous ſickneſſe, and the opinion that he was poyſoned, increaſed the violence, for he held it incurable. The report heereof came to *Rome*, and was made greater then the euill; for the diſtance of place augmented it. Then was nothing heard but teares and complaints. *Is it for this* (ſay they) *that they haue ſent him to the worlds end, that* Piſo *is made Lieutenant, theſe are the plottings of the Empreſſe with* Plancina *his wife. Poore* Rome *that canſt not haue them to be beloued that loue thee, nor dare wee murmur againſt thoſe that ruine thee.* And therewith all brake foorth into mortall and vehement imprecations againſt *Seianus*.

Apis manum Germanici Cæſaris auerſatus eſt, haud multo poſt extincti.

Fama ex longinquo aucta. Tac.

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Lætiora statim credita, statim vulgata. Tac.

It was aduertised by some merchants of *Aegypt*, that he began to recouer. This good newes was assoone beleeued as published; and the streets were too narrow for the concourse of people, which ran to the temples to giue thankes vnto the gods. The night fauoured the rumour, and the beleefe thereof seemeth more easie and costlesse in the darke. *Tiberius* himselfe is awakened in the night with their ioyfull acclamations.

Pronior in tenebris affirmatio. Tac.

Salua Roma, salua patria, salvus Germanicus. Suet.

No words can be heard but these: *Rome is safe, our Country is safe*, Germanicus *is safe*.

After that the poyson gently violent, had consumed all the heat and moysture in this poore body, all his friends conceyued that he should haue no need to haue or to see a Cocke to sacrifice to *Aesculapius*; and that the gods would not grant him his life because they would not restore liberty to the Romane Empire. In this extreame weakenesse he expressed from his mouth these his last words, to imprint them in the heart of his wife and his friends, that griefe euen melted them to teares, and rented their hearts in sunder.

Germanicus could not endure the crowing, nor the sight of a cock. Plut.

Qui præmaturo exitu rapitur illi etiam aduersus deos iustus dolor. Tac.

If I had died according to the course of nature, I might iustly complaine against the gods, that they had snatcht me away before the time of my parents, of my children, of my country, and of the yeeres of my youth. But now since my course is interrupted by the wickednesse of Piso *and* Plancina, *I will leaue within your hearts my last requests.*

Vltimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo. Tac.

I coniure you to represent to the Emperour, my Father and my Vnkle, how that after I was wronged by these cruell iniuries, and perplexed by these strange disloyalties, I finished my miserable life by a death which yet is more miserable. I hope that haue followed my hopes

Miserrimæ vitæ miserior mors finiuit.

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who are of the same blood with me, and those same that haue borne me enuy when I was in the world, will be grieued to see me ruined by the treacherie of a woman, then when I was flouriſhing, & when I had eſcaped death in ſo many battailes: & you alſo ſhal haue a ſubiect to complain of to the Senate, and implore the aſſiſtance of the Law.

Erit volis locus querendi apud Senatum, invocandi leges. Ta.

The chiefeſt duty of friends is not to follow the deceaſed with cries and weeping, which ſerue to no other purpoſe, but to be mindfull of what they deſired and to performe that which they appointed. Germanicus *wanted not teares; they to whom this nothing at al apperteines & haue not known him at all, will bewaile him, but you will auenge him if you loued more his perſon then his fortune.*

Non decet defunctum ignauo queſtu perſequi. Tac.

Vendicabitis vos ſi me potius quàm fortunam meam ſanabitis. Tac.

Let the people of Rome ſee the Neece of Auguſtus, *the wife of* Germanicus *and the children which he leaueth behind him, Compaſſion will make them be of my ſide when they ſhall accuſe the Authors of my death, and if thoſe that ſhall be accuſed ſhall ſeeke to colour it and to inuent ſome execrable commandement;* (this touched *Seianus* who had giuen order to *Piſo* to doe it) *good men will not beleeue them, or at leaſt will not permit that they ſhould remaine vnpuniſhed.*

Fingentibus ſceleſta mandata aut non credent homines aut non ignoſcent. Tac.

All that were preſent ſweare in the hand of *Germanicus* to dye, or to reuenge his death, euery one deplored the loſſe of ſo braue a Prince who in his deportments reteined the greatneſſe and grauity of his fortunes, and had nothing in his words but of ſweetneſſe and of Curteſie. He turned towards his wife, he coniured her by the loue which ſhe had borne him, by the memory ſhe ſhould haue of him and for their childrens ſake which they had had together, to moderate and humble a little her heart, and to accommo-

Magnitudinem & grauitatem ſummæ fortunæ retinuit, inuidiam & arrogantiam effudit. Tacit.

Fortunæ ſæuitiæ ſubmittere animum. Ta.

date it to time and to make it pliable to the rigor of fortune, waiting till she should sweeten her selfe. Aboue all (my deere wife) take heed when you at at *Rome* of giuing occasion of Iealousie to those that are more powerfull then you, and imply not that good will which you shall find in the hearts to the Senate and people, to make any concurrence to their fauor and ambition.

Æmulatione potentiæ validiores haud irritandi. Tac.

This was the most sound counsaile that he could giue her, but she should haue beene held vnworthy to be the Neece of *Augustus* the wife of *Germanicus*, and mother of those children, if she had made greater accompt of the estate of fortune then of vertue, and should seeke to attaine the fauors of the Emperor by those of *Seianus*.

Quasi rursus ereptum acrius doluit. Tacit.

When the people of *Rome* knew that *Germanicus* was dead, their greefe was so much the greater, by supposing him taken away from them, and was nothing there seene but griefe and affliction. It was doubted, whether he were made away by poyson or by witchcraft, the one they beleeued because his heart did not burne; and the other was bruted abroad because they found about him dead menes bones, Characters and Charmes.

Cremati cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est, cuius ea natura vt tostum veneno igne confici nequeat. Suet.

Germanicus his friends published euery where that *Piso* had beene the cause of his Death, that *Agrippina* would reuenge it: but receiuing the newes of his death in the Isle of *Cio*, he caused sacrifices to be made, *Plaucina* his wife visited the temples, he cared not for the threatnings of *Agrippina*, & thought of nothing but to settle himselfe in the gouernment of *Syria*, supposing that the seruice which he had done to *Tiberius* was

Piso intemperanter accepit Germanicum excessisse, cædit victimas, adit templa, magis indolescente Plancinâ. Tac.

sufficient

ſufficient to guard him from the feare of this vengance and to aſſure him of the recompence of his merit.

Vpon this his reſolution to goe into *Syria* his ſonne aduiſed him to go to *Rome*, without apprehending theſe vaine reports and feeble ſuſpicions to infringe or preuent the diſignes of his enimies, and to gaine the aduantage of the firſt impreſſions. That he ſhould not ſuppoſe to put himſelfe ſo ſoone in the gouernment of *Syria*, ſeeing that *Sentius* was prouuided therof, that he could not expect great obedience of an Army, that as yet deplored the death of *Germanicus* and conſerued with bitterneſſe his memory, That he repented himſelfe drawing vpon him the blame of a Ciuill warre.

Suſpiciones imbecilla aut ingenia fame non pertimeſcenda. Tac.

Apud milites recens Imperatoris memoria præualet. Tac.

Domitius Celer on the contrary ſide: that he ought to take againe the charge which he had taken away and to fill the place that was void, That it were imprudence and perill to goe to *Rome* at the ſame time that *Agrippina* would be there, and that the people would be moued by her cryes and her complaint; That it was needfull to leaue to time theſe firſt reports to make them wax old, and that innocency can hardly reſiſt the violence of a new ſpringing enuy. That he ought to goe to *Syria* to take the Command of the army and the authority of the gouernment, and that he had no other way then to take armes in hand and to iuſtifie himſelfe in the field, and that the things which are often apprehended as dangerous, become more ſecure then one can prouide for, or expect, That he ſhould feare nothing ſince the *Empreſſe* was intereſſed in his cauſe, and *Tiberius* obliged to diſin-

Vtendum eſt cuncta.

Relinquendum rumoribus tempus quo ſeneſcant, plerunque innocentes recentibus inuidiæ impares. Tac.

Multa quæ prouideri non poſſunt fortuita in melius retidunt. Tac.

Est tibi Augusta conscientia, est Cæsaris favor, sed in occulto. Tac.

gage him, but that fauouring him in secret he did conceiue worse then if he did hasten this affaire to force him to sustaine it publikely, that it was certaine that those that were most pleased with his death made shew to be most afflicted therewith.

Perisse Germanicum. Haud magna mole Piso promptus ferocibus. Tac.

Piso whose spirit enclined more willingly to dangerous resolutions with courage then to easie ones with prudence, followed this counsaile and went into *Syria*: but he found *Gn. Sentius* opposit vnto him, who because he would neither haue nor suffer a companion in his charge, draue him out of the Prouince and besieged him in a Castle of *Cilicia*, and constrained him to render him and to take his iourney to *Rome*.

The Tribunes and the Captaines weeping, carried the vessels wherein the ashes of *Germanicus* were, vpon their shoulders.

Agripp. appellant Dium patriæ, solum Augusti sanguinem, vnicum antiquitatis specimen. Tac.

Tiberius & Augusta publice abstinere, ne omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi intelligerentur. Tac.

Whilst this was doing *Agrippina* embarqued vpon the Sea with the ashes of *Germanicus* her husband, and landing was receiued with great honours of all the Estates of *Rome*, who manifested an extreame griefe for the death of her husband, and an incredibile ioy for the returne of the wife and children. The people call *Agrippina* the honour of the Countrey, the sole and true bloud of *Augustus*, the example of the ancient glory; and added to their cryes, vowes and prayers for the safety of his widow and yong children, and for the ruine of their enemies.

Tiberius was much offended with these *Plaudits* and would not be seene at this entertainement, doubting that his face might bewray that contentment of minde which he felt inwardly for the death of *Germanicus*, and commanded the people to moderate this sorrow, and to beare it, as they had done the defeat of their armies and the losse of their Captaines, the ruine of their great families.

Piso

Piſo arriued there preſently after, regarding ſo little the threatnings of *Agrippina*, that *Marcus Vibius* a friend of *Germanicus* telling him that he muſt goe to *Rome* to cleere himſelf, he anſwered ſodeinly & in ſcoffing manner. *You ſhal ſee me there, when the Prator that giues information of the witcheries ſhall haue appointed a day for the accuſed and the accuſers.*

Eludens reſpondit ad futurum vbi Prætor qui de veneficijs quæreret, reo atque accuſatoribus diem prædixiſſet. Tac.

He entred into *Rome* with a great number of Attendance magnificent and proud, his wife braue and ioyous, the Gates of his houſe being deckt with *Lawrell*, whereby the people were the more prouoked. The day following he was accuſed of the death of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius* deſired to take notice of the Cauſe. *Piſo* he deſired it, becauſe he feared the affection of the Senators to the memory of *Germanicus*, and aſſuring himſelfe that his warranter ſhould be his Iudge, couered rather to depend on the authoritie of one alone, then on the paſſion of many.

Fuit inter irritamenta inuidiæ domus foro imminens feſto ornatu. Tac.

Tiberius ſaw himſelfe in a ſtreight how to condemne the guilty, and to abſolue his owne Conſcience, for he knew the reports that truth had made current euery where againſt him and his mother, and that *Piſo* was but the inſtrument of this *Parricide*. He would handle the buſineſſe with as little buſineſſe as he could, and heard the accuſers, in the preſence of *Seianus* and ſome of his moſt confident and familiar friends, They demanded iuſtice, and added threatning to requeſts. We neede not to doubt therefore that he was aduiſed to let *Piſo* periſh, rather then to permit his reputation to be wronged, and Princes ſometime ſerue themſelues of men no longer then they haue neede of them.

Vera aut in deterius credita indice ab vno facilius diſcernuntur, odium & inuidia apud multos valent. Tac.

Haud fallebat Tiberium moles cognitionis, quaque ipſe fama diſtraheretur. Ta. *Paucis familiarium adhibitis, minas accuſantium & preces audit.*

Facinorum omnium reperior. Tac.

But because the history names *Seianus* the inuentor of all these mischieses, he passed on further and sayd, That the Emperour ought not to meddle in these affayres, by condemning *Piso* hee should too much increase the pride of *Agrippina*, and in declaring him innocent, he should shew that fauour would ouercome iustice, hee durst not say that the complice should absolue the guilty. That it was necessary to remit it to the Senate, and that if he were condemned, the iudgement might be attributed to the passion of *Germanicus* his house, if discharged, the blame should lie on the Nobility.

It is needfull to walke wisely and heedfully in dangerous things, where the reputation of the Prince runnes any hazard.

Seianus went to instruct *Piso* what hee should say, assuring him of impunity of all other crimes, prouided that he did not confesse the secret of this; that the Emperour would quench the fire that was kindled, and not permit that the sicke party should die of the sickenesse whereof he was the cause, and that his reputation the only frame of his authority obliged him rather to lose himselfe, then not to saue him.

The frame of the puissance of a Prince is altogether founded vpon his reputation.

Piso appeared in the Senate, and there were some orators assigned to speake for the accusers, and others to defend the accused; the subiect was worthy of the eloquence of the most able, and of such as did not seeke for businesses, but who were sought out for businesses, and who esteemed more the importance and the quality then the number and multitude of them. *Tiberius* made a discourse with such a temperament between the accusation and the accused, that any might well perceiue the contriuing thereof was premeditated. All the City listened to know what the credit of *Germanicus* his friends would be, the assurance of the accused, the

Eloquenti exoptat pretium litium numerus. Sen.

Quanta fides amicis Germanici quæ fiducia rei, latinne cohiberet an premeret sensus suos Tiberius, an promeret. Tac.

the countenance of *Tiberius*; and if he could well conceale and keepe backe the ſence of his paſſion, or that hee would permit it to breake out. And the people who otherwiſe regarded not affayres, in this gaue themſelues much liberty againſt the Prince, and either in ſecret communication they ſhewed their ſpleene, or in ſilence they diſcouered their ſuſpitions.

Populus multum ſibi occultæ vocis aut ſuſpicatis ſilenty permittit. Tac.

You know (my Fathers, ſayd Tiberius*) that* Piſo *at other times hath beene the friend of* Auguſtus *my Father, and Lieutenant of the Army of* Spaine*; and that by the aduice of the Senate he was giuen to* Germanicus *my Nephew to aſſiſt him in the gouernment of the affayres of the Eaſt. This now conſidered, it is meete you ſhould iudge him with pure and ſyncere ſpirits, if through his arrogancy or through exceſſe of authority he hath offended the minde of this yong Prince, if hee hath reioyced at his death, or if he hath trayterouſly and wickedly beene a cauſe of his death.*

Integris animis iudicandum. Ta.

For if in this charge of Lieutenantcy hee hath exceeded the limits of duty, if he hath quitted the reſpect due to a Generall, if hee hath manifeſted contentment in his death and my ſorrow, nothing can hinder it, but that he muſt incurre my diſpleaſure; I ſweare to you that I will chaſe him from my houſe, and auenge my iniury not in quality of a Prince, but as a priuate perſon.

Legatum officij terminum aut obſequium erga imperatorem non exuit. Tac.

And if you ſhall diſcouer any wickednеſſe which ought not only to be auenged in this death, but in any other you will; I coniure you to conſider in this your griefe, that of Germanicus *his children, and ours, who are ſo neere to him, neither refuſe to vs a iuſt conſolation.*

Factum in cuiuſcunque mortalium nece iudicandum. Tac.

Conſider on one ſide how Piſo *hath carried himſelfe in the Army, if he hath cauſed any trouble or ſedition, if he*

Quæſita per ambitionem ſtudia multum. Tac.

Falsa in maius vulgant accusatores. Tacit.

he hath inueagled the hearts of the ſouldiers to aſpire to command; and after that Germanicus *had taken away his charge, if he did eſſay to gaine it againe by Armes, conſider on the other ſide, if theſe falſe and forged matters haue beene vented by the Accuſers for true, and of greater conſequence then they are.*

Incerta adhuc ſunt ſcrutanda.

As for mee, I cannot conceale that I am not moued with the paſſion which they haue manifeſted. For if they be not as yet well aſſured of the cauſe of the death; and if they haue need to bee informed thereof, to what purpoſe haue they expoſed his naked body in the publique place of Antioch, *and haue left it to be handled and viewed by the vulgar people; if this were not done to make the ſpeech goe among ſtrangers, that hee was poyſoned; and by this report to draw fourth more of bitterneſſe then of truth. In good ſooth, I am ſorry for* Germanicus *my ſonne, and ſhall be ſorry for him all my life long; but I will not hinder that the accuſed ſhall not produce all hee hath to vphold his innocency, and prooue the wrong which* Germanicus *hath done him.*

Reus cuncta proferat, quibus innocentia eius ſublenari poſſit. Tac.

Obiecta crimina pro approbatis non accipienda. Tac.

I coniure you therfore, that you receiue not theſe charges for prooſes, vnder pretext that this cauſe is ioyned to my griefe. And you others, who by right of kindred or of friendſhip haue vndertaken the defence of the accuſed, imploy that induſtrie and eloquence that you haue to draw his innocency out of danger: I exhort the accuſers likewiſe conſtantly to proſecute the cauſe: all the fauour that wee ſhall ſhew to Germanicus *aboue the Law ſhalbe no other, then to bee enformed of the cauſe of his death, rather in the Senate houſe, then in the common place of iudgement, rather by the Senate then by the ordinarie iuſtices. In all other matters wee ſhall vſe equall moderation.*

Si cui propinquus ſanguis aut fides ſua patronos dedit, quantum quiſque eloquentiâ & curâ valet iuuare periclitantem. Tacit.

In accuſations where the griefe of the Prince is ioyned with the cauſe, wee muſt not regard his intereſt.

moderation. Regard not the teares of my Brother Drusus *aboue his ſonnes, nor mine aboue my Nephewes; and leſſe all that wicked malice can faine againſt vs.*

It was hereupon giuen out, that the accuſation ſhould be framed within two dayes, that the parties accuſed ſhould haue ſixe dayes to prepare themſelues to anſwer; and that in three dayes they ſhould make their anſwer. She was bold to refute the empoyſoning; her boldneſſe bred ſome fauourable preſumption of her innocency; but ſhe faultred in other crimes.

Strange proceedings, where time is giuen to the accuſed to anſwer that which is in his owne knowledge, and to the aduocates to colour their anſwers.

In the firſt ſeſſion *Vitellius* and *Veranius* reported to the Senate the laſt words of *Germanicus*, which enclined their heartes to pitty, as affection had prepared them to fauour. *Fulcinius Trio*, to whom it was all one to weepe and to ſpeake eager to gaine reputation by doing ill, began the accuſation: but becauſe he produced nothing but generall matters, and old inquiſitions of that which *Piſo* had done, the Senate tooke no regard of it; for all this could neither hurt the partie accuſed if he ſhould bee conuicted, nor ſerue to his abſolution if hee ſhould bee cleered, if other where hee might be attainted of greater crimes.

Trionis ingenium auidumque famæ male. Ta.

Vetera et inania quæ neque conuicta noua erant. Tac.

Vitellius accompanied the vehemency and force of his diſcourſe with a great grace and grauity, ſpeaking in this manner: *Although* (yee conſcript Fathers) *the quality of thoſe who lament themſelues is worthie to bee conſidered, yet is it good for none but thoſe who ſeeke for aid, otherwiſe then by the courſe of iuſtice, and the reaſons of their owne complaining.*

The conſideration of the quality of the accuſers, renders the accuſation more ſtrong.

This cauſe carries with it fauour, and needs no other aid then that of the Law, which is not denied to the meaneſt in the world. I could ſay that thoſe who now implore

A cauſe weighty in it ſelfe needs no other fauour.

 it,

The authority of a Prince maintaines the estate, and that cannot subsist when there is a neglect of punishing iniuries.

it, are of such quality, that if it be denied them, the Empire haue no more to doe either with the Law or the Senate. The issue of Augustus *demandeth iustice, the people expect it, the Iudges ought to administer it, and thou* Cæsar *are obliged both as a Prince and as a kinsman.*

Ingens luctus prouinciæ & circumia centium populorum; indoluere exteræ nationes regesq; Tac.

Pretend not to bring any fauour to this accusation, since in representing the offence as a Prodigie, the offender as a Parricide, the deceased for such a one as euery man laments; forreine nations haue admired, the confederates haue sorrowed, this citie hath praised moderation in all things, except in this one so iust sorrow. Germanicus *is no more; O what sorrow! we haue lost; O what misfortune!* Germanicus *the delight of the world, the loue of the country; so bountifull towards the citizens, so courteous towards strangers, was slaine miserably and traiterously. And by whom? by* Piso, *a wicked and vngratefull man. By whom also? by* Plancina, *a fury disguised in shape of a woman. By what meanes? by charmes and poysons. Who are the complices? Sorcerers fetcht out of hell. And wherefore? To auenge the iniury and to vsurpe Command.*

Illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostes. Tac.

Nemo tantum à naturali lege desiuit & hominem exuit, vt animi causa malus sit. Sen.

The spirits of wicked ones (conscript fathers) depraue not themselues all at once, neither can any espouse wickednesse by pleasure alone, they forme their designes from a farre off, and carry them to extremities; Piso *by light faults is ascended vp to greater, by couetousnesse to rapacitie, from thence to practices, then to ambition, and from ambition to the violating of the authority of the law, to come to the dispising of the power of the Gods. He hath giuen to* Spaine *the proofe of his auarice, to* Syria *of his ambition, to the house of* Germanicus *of his impiety.*

Assoone

Assoone as you had honoured him with the charge of being Germanicus his Lieutenant, he kept it not close that he desired that of the Generall, and vsed practices in Rome to render him hatefull to his Father and in the army to cause him to be despised of the Souldiers. He practised then to drawe them to his deuotion, chased away the tribunes that would not depend of him, filled their places with bold persons, and to make himselfe beloued of the men of warre, permitted idlenesse in the campe, and disorders in the Cities, insolencies in the field: and thenceforth he was called the Father of the Legions: on the other side Plancina went cheeke by iolle with Agrippina, and enterprised things aboue the modestie of women, she was found sometimes vsing the exercise of knights and running courses of light horse.

Haud inuito imperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat. Tac.

Desidia incastrà licentia in vrbibus. Tac.

And although this was rude to a spirit whose actions were all ciuill, yet he desired rather to cloake them, then to offend the Emperor his Father, with importunate complaints. He commanded Piso to lead a part of the Legions into Armenia, or at least to send his sonne thither, but he would doe neither, the one nor the other, and thereby lost the occasion of doing great seruice to the Emperor. When he was in counsaile neere Germanicus, or in the seate of iustice vnder him, he stifly and imprudently opposed all his opinions.

Secreta studia pati non potest animus ad ciuilia erectus agendique cupidus. Sen.

Si quando adsederet atrox ac dissentire manifestus. Tac.

I will rehearse vnto you an incredible insolencie, but so certaine that none dare denie it, to shew that sottishnes and malice were companions and sisters in all his actions. Being at the feast of the king Nabates, when he saw that the crownes of gold which were giuen him, were neither of the beautie nor the weight of those of Germanicus or of Agrippina, he threw them on the ground,

and being no leſſe fooliſh then malicious, he began to reproue the ſumptuouſneſſe of the feaſt, and diſcourſing againſt Luxurie, ſaid, that ſuch expence was proporcionable to an Emperor, and not to the ſonne of the King of the Parthians.

Poore ſot, didſt thou thinke euer after this to find credit in the heart, or ſecuritie in the following of Germanicus, *whom thou hadſt ſo impudentlie offended? although he was blamed becauſe he was too good and that he endured too much. Thinkeſt thou that there was in the world a ſafe retiring place, to guard thee againſt the rage of a Prince of* Auguſtus *bloud? Haſt thou heard it ſaid, that hearts of ſuch breedinge, haue beene offended and not puniſhed! And loe therefore* Plancina, *who eſteemed not her ſelfe could be happie ſo long as* Agrippina *was happie, ſaid that ſhe muſt needs either periſh or reuenge her ſelfe, and pull this thorne out of thy hart, or permit that ſhe might pluck it out of thy breaſt.*

It is a generous kinde of reuenge, to let ones enemy ſee that hee can auenge himſelfe.

Yee (conſcript Fathers) admire the goodneſſe and generouſneſſe of this Prince, who hauing beene ſo often and ſo to the quicke offended by Piſo, *was alwaies contented to let him know he could auenge himſelfe and ſaue him when he might haue ruined him. He came to find him at* Rhodes, *and being well aduertiſed of all the plots he had framed againſt him, yet he bare himſelfe towards him with ſo much equalitie and moderation, that vpon the aduertiſement which he had receiued, that fortune had caſt him vpon ſome ſhelues, he ſent him certaine Barkes to fetch him off, although if he would haue deſerted him, he could haue blamed none other then chance, and that fortune had conſpir'd for his amendment.*

Neſcius quibus inſidiationibus peteretur, manſuetudine tamen vſus eſt. Tac.

Poteſt quandoq; interitus inimici ad caſum referri. Tac.

Germanicus

Germanicus *visiting* Ægypt *had the curiositie to see the heads of* Nile, (*that memorable riuer which had its beginning with the world*) *and at his returne found that* Piso *had changed the order in which he had left affaires at his departure, that which he had secured was shaken, and that which he had commanded was despised. He grew angry, his seruants animated him to resent it, and his dissembling kept not backe his choler, but that it was made manifest by his words, & his reuenge by his threatnings,* Piso *retired himselfe:* Germanicus *fell sicke:* Piso *who knew how farre the disease would goe, went not farre off, and the violence of the poyson hastened his death.*

Nilus cuius inuarrabilis natura est, cum mundo traxit principia. Sen.

Amici accedendis effusionibus collidi. Tacit.

Ah cruell! Heare the words of this Prince when he was dying and those dying words which shall eternally liue in the memory of the Romans. I dye miserablie in the flower of mine age by the treason of *Piso* and *Plancina.* I coniure you my friends to make it be seene to the people of *Rome*, that these wickednesses haue cut the throat of the Nephew of *Augustus*, and of six small children. *What hearts are these, which these words will not bray and bruse? And dost thou yet liue* Piso? *and doth the Sun yet giue thee light? Thy conscience not knowing where to hide thee, hath conducted thee hither to be punished, and could not consent to the security which thou soughtest after elsewhere, so that as she hath failed thee to dissolue this crime, she her selfe hath betraied thee to conduct thee to punishment. What hast thou done after this Parricide? Thou visitedst the Cities of* Asia: *Thou spentst thy time at the faire houses of* Achaia. *This was done to no other end but to make the proofes vaine, the witnesses to die, wee*

The last words of a dying Prince increase the complaint against the authors of his death.

Tutum aliquare in malâ conscientiâ præstat, nulla securum. Sen.

Subdola mora scelerum probationes subuertit. Tac.

 must

must now (O yee conscript Fathers) put Piso *in the estate of a vanquished man to reduce him to that of an accused.*

Mihi fasces & vis Prætoris, mihi legiones dare. Tac.

He did not as that honest man Valerius Publicola *did, who being accused quitted his house of* Velia *and lodged in the village, to the end that they might take no paines in searching for him, He that is innocent shuns not iudgement, and he that is culpable keepes himselfe a loafe from the iudges.*

When great ones are accused, they ought to suffer themselues to bee found easily.

If any man had accused him for taking Armes, he purposed to haue shadowed it vnder the Command which he had in Syria *vnder* Germanicus *his Generall, if to haue medled with the monies of the publique, he perswaded himselfe that that parte thereof which he should keepe for his friends might saue the cost. Hee may free himselfe for a little who hath stolen much.*

Venenum nodo crinium occultatum, nec ulla in corpore signa sumpti exitij reperta. Tacit.

If Martina *that famous sorceresse and empoysonnesse, the great friend of* Plancina *had not bin dead, she would haue discouered al the secrets of this treason. The friends of* Germanicus *would haue had her beene brought to* Rome, *but when she was at* Brundusium *she dyed suddenly, and the poyson hid in the knots of her haire appeared not at all in her body.*

Suorum insidijs externus inter gentes occidit. Tacit.

If the truth may be ayded by presumptions, no man can say that this Prince, who hath found lesse securitie among his owne then amongst strangers, was killed by any other then Piso: *who durst haue enterprized it? he had offended no man but him, and for the resentment of this offence, he was declared his enemy and thrust himselfe into his charge, and ouery man knowes it is hard to seuer the desire of death from that of the succession.*

One

One once in this place of a Proscript man who to enioy the goods of his wife, told her that he would kill himselfe, she added that she would accompanie him. He prepared the deadly drugge but with such cunning, that he drinking first left the poyson, which by reason of the ponderousnesse thereof, sunke downe to the bottome for his wife to drinke: she died, he was well enough and enioyed the goods which she had left by her testament. Seldome any scape of that poyson which is giuen by an heire.

So *Leponina* followed her husband *Iulius Sabinus* in *Vespasians* time

Who reioyceth more at the death of any then he that hath procured it, and who desireth it more ardently then he that hath waited for it more impatiently? How did Piso *take this? He sacrificed and slew burnt offeringes:* Plancina *was so transported with this ioy, that she laid a side her griefe which she began to apprehend for the death of her sister, and adorned her selfe in the richest and best garments she had.*

Luctus lato cultu mutatus. Ta.

This accusation abounded with so many diuersities, and the resolution to make an end of Germanicus *was furnished with so many Mischiefes, that they oppressed him, and carried him headlong into the folly of this discourse, and he had much to doe to range it into any order. I had forgotten to shew how* Piso *sent spies to discouer the weake estate of* Germanicus, *and the accidents that hapned thereupon. This grieued the sicke person and vexed his soule, not for feare, for he was neuer afraid of death, but for anger and sorrow, apprehending that assoone as breath was out of his body* Piso *would vsurp the command of his forces, and his wife should be at his appointment.* Piso *also was somewhat wearie that the poyson wrought so slowly and that*

Nil ordinatur quod præcipiatur & properat. Se.

that it had no sooner wrought it's effect, and entered into Syria, to be more neere the legions and to serue himselfe with them vpon occasion: This was the cause why Germanicus *said of his distresse:* Well then, if I must needs dye by the cunning of mine enimy and that he must see me render vp my spirit, what shall be found out for my wife? How shall she be dealt withall? What shall become of my children, who in this accident will not want teares to bewaile me, and will haue no words at all to lament themselues? Let that come to passe which the heauens haue determined, *Piso* hath taken away my life: but he hath left me the courage, and I doe not finde my selfe brought to that weakenesse, that I euer will consent that the murtherer shall gaine his reward by my death. *Vpon this he sent a letter vnder his hand, importing that he held him his enimy, that he forbad him to come into his house, and so to soiourne there in that Prouince.*

This is a very sensible griefe to die in the sight of ones enemy and to leaue his wife and his children to his power.

When the Romans would breake friendship with any one, they would advertize him of it and forbad him their house. *Titus Liuius.*

For none doubted but that the witchcraft seconded the poyson, when they saw the bones of dead men pluckt from their members and tyed to the walles and seeling of his Chamber, the characters of charmes and imprecations, Germanicus *his name ingrauen in plates of Lead, of ashes halfe burnt and made into paste with the putrifactions of vlcers and other witchcrafts and impieties, which they vse to do vote any one to death sacrificing him to the infernall gods.*

Maleficijs animae numinibus infernis sacra. Tacit.

Although this Prince was dying and euen at the last cast, yet Piso *feared & by his commandement loosed the Anchor and retired himselfe: but he went not very farre, that he might not haue farre to returne when hee should haue aduertisement of his death. And if all*

Moderatur cursui, qui vult proprius regredi. Tacit.

all this put together serues not to conuince them, where would be the truth should seeke vs proofes?

So that (yee conscript Fathers) you see before your eyes a man who hath brought from the wombe of his mother violence and the spirit of rebellion, for he is sonne of a father who followed the partie of Brutus and Cassius: He is not onely an extortioner, but a theefe, not a quarreller but a raiser of sedition, not an enimy but a rebell, not a murtherer but an assassin, neuer any delinquent hath giuen you more pressing cause to dispatch him then he; for the accursednesse of his crime will constraine you to condemne him: and if in despite of the gods and of men, you pardon him, it will be impossible to sone him out of the hands of the people, who attend this businesse: and hearken (O yee Conscript Fathers) how they cry in this pallace, there is not a woman so little that doth not promise to her selfe to teare of some haire of his head.

Cicero said the offence of Verres constrained the Iudges to condemne him.

Represent to your selues that the ioy of the people is when they see the chiefe Authors of rebellion drawne behind the triumphant Chariot, and on the morrowe after executed in reparation of the inhumanities and cruelties they haue done in the Prouinces, they will be more content when they shall see Piso go to be punished.

When he that triumpheth passeth by the Capitoll he sendeth his prisoners to the Magistrates and dares not leade them to his owne house. ILicet, colliga manus, caput obnubito, arbori infelici suspendito. Cicero.

The people will loose their patience if you pronounce not speedily the solemne sentence: Hangman take this Parricide, this robber, this rebell, bind his hands, blind his eyes, tye him to a miserable gallowes: And who knoweth if this multitude transported with griefe and sorrow will stay there; if they will content themselues with one alone, and that they fall not vpon those who fauour this wicked man esteeming them more wicked then he.

Non maius scelus in R. P. commisit reus quàm ij qui eum à tam nefarijs sceleribus sententia sua liberant. Cic. In case of iudgement of persons of quality, we must consider the time and the reason of State.

No no : (yee conscript fathers) they will not bee mocked, the matter is too important, the consequence too great, and this man such a one that there is too much danger to commit a fault in his case. Beleeue I pray you, that neither the accused, nor the time, nor the place, nor the reason of state, nor the qualities of the parties can consent that they should be bereaued of the example, that he should be deliuered in secret, or that hee should not be executed in publique.

Marcus Lepidus who had as much eloquence as he possibly could haue, for neuer any man had all, speaking for *Piso* answered the accusers in this manner:

Eloquentia nulli tota contingit. Sen.

Great honors are burthens which tyre those that beare them.

Ludos facit fortuna. Sen.

It is a great vnhappinesse (yea conscript fathers) for poore Piso to haue beene happy. Great honors serue sometimes to the felicitie of them that deserue them not at all, and those who haue first merited them shall finde their ruine by a strange extrauagancie, or a iugling of fortune, who giuing to others contentments, to this man giues nothing but trouble.

Vnhappy is that dignity which hath no credence at all with the Prince.

The great seruices performed by Piso *to* Augustus *obliged the Emperour to make him Lieutenant to* Germanicus, *but this honor was accompanied with so many thwartings that his faithfulnesse found no fauour, nor his counsell any credence in the heart of this young Prince, who being not affrighted by encountring of things impossible eleuated his thoughts aboue his estate, threatning the Sunne of obscuritie, the Ocean of bondage, whence arose those thoughts of greatnesse which troubled those of the Emperor.*

His affection to his Country, his faith to his Prince obliged him to watch ouer his actions, which he found al-

waies so bold and high, that he beleeued that this young Hercules had not yet attempted to mount aboue the Starres neither handsomely nor peaceably, and that hee would enter by a breach to the ruine of the Empire. These designes of an vnbridled ambition could not come to any happy end, and Piso *was not a whit astonished, when the Priest of the oracle of* Apollo *told him at Colophon that he should not continue there very long, for the charge which hee had vndertaken was too weighty for his forces.*

Nec in astra lenta veniet via, iter ruinæ quæret. Sen. Tr.

Necesse est opprimant onera quæ ferenti maiora sunt. Sen.

But as Princes loue better to be flattered in their errors than aduertised in their duties, he presently remained distasted, that *Piso* loued rather to displease him with truth, than to be agreeable to him with flattery. He conceiued that his freenesse was presumption, when he shewed him the way from which hee had swarued and that which he ought to hold, especially when he told him that he did wrong to the Maiestie of the Empire, when he treated common men so respectiuely and so courteously that sinke of *Athenians*, who alwaies followed the party contrary to ours, neither was it euer without some practise of reuolt towards vs, hauing assisted *Mithridates* against *Sylla* & *Antony* against *Augustus*. Was it by the counsell of *Piso* that he went into *Aegypt* against the ancient ordinance of *Augustus*, who left it you for a secret of estate neuer to to permit great persons to goe into *Aegypt*, because reuolting against vs they might there with a few men resist a great army, and prohibiting the bringing of corne from thence might famish *Italy*.

Malo veris offendere quàm placere adulando. Sen.

Quod colluviem illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset. Tac.

Inter alia dominationis arcana Augustus vetitis sopositis Ægiptum. Ta. *Levi præsidio ingentes exercitus coercentur.* Tac.

Call to your memory (O *Cæsar*) (but let nothing of importance escape you) the displeasure you receiued

when *Piso* aduertised you that this young Prince directed all his actions to vanity and ambition; that to gaine the hearts of the people, he gaue them great gratuities of mony and of corne that he marched without guards, on foot, meanely attended, and went apparelled after the Greeke manner as at another time *Scipio* had done.

In vulgus grata, sine milite incedere pedibus, intectus & pari cum Græcis amictu. Ta.

All the furies of hell could not inuent a more detestable Calumny then of this poyson whereof *Piso* is accused, but it is so minced and subtile, that falshood may be transparently seene through it. How is it possible that you *Vitellius* who haue your eyes open and a cleare iudgement, not to speake of superfluous things, you now affirme contrary. What apparance is there that *Piso* eating at the table of *Germanicus* who alwaies obserued him diligently, had the leisure to take the poison to rub his fingers to waste his victualls. Is this easie in another mans house in the presence of a Prince to whom they giue so much trust, who hath so many eies that watch ouer all.

Tenus mendacium pellucet. Se.

Non minus vitandum supervacanea dicere quam contraria. Sen.

Absurdum inter aliena seruitia & tot astantium visu. Tacit.

If this be true let *Piso* consent, not that the hand which hath done this Parricide may be cut off, but that the heart which hath conceiued it may be pluck't aliue out of his breast, and that to finde out the truth none may hinder but that the racke may be giuen to all his family and all his seruants.

Si patrem pulsaverit, manus ei præcidatur. Se.

Offerebat familiam reus & ministros in tormenta. Ta.

He is not altogether without fault, there is no man exempt, Diamonds haue their blemishes, the fairest visages their spots, but he is neither wicked nor a traitor. Those that reproach him of pride are not without arrogance; if he be cholerick they are violent, he neuer attempted against the life of princes.

There is nothing so foule as an iniury which returneth against him that hath spoken it. *Plut.*

If

If he hath exercised any seuerity in his charge hee rather did it out of duty then of his owne inclination. It is for Princes to seeke to make themselues to be beloued, and for Magistrates to make themselues to be feared. If he failed in his respect and affection towards *Germanicus*, it is also a very hard matter to be constrained to loue those who haue resolued and sworne ones ruine. *Germanicus*, as all great men, had written the seruices of *Piso* in the sands and all his offences in Marble, if wee may so call those sincere and faithfull aduises which he gaue vnto him for his good gouernment.

Magistrates ought to be more curious to make themselues to bee feared than to be beloued.

He confessed that *Germanicus* his death had drawne out of his heart a growing thorne, and a wearisome feare that he was very ioyfull to see his house deliuered from so puissant an enemy, *Tiberius* from a Nephew so ambitious, the Empire from a Prince so vndertaking: *Germanicus* would haue ruined *Piso* and the heauens ruined *Germanicus*, and by his death made him know that there is a Iustice aboue, that auengeth the violences of the great ones vpon the little ones. It is permitted to them to spit in our faces or to set their feete vpon our throates to raise themselues aboue vs, yet the smalleſt liuing Creatures haue had Iustice ouer the Eagle. There is nothing so sweete as reuenge, what soeuer it cost, this is a viand which one may swallow downe without chewing.

There is nothing so naturall as to hate those who persecute vs.

The Eagle hauing snatcht vp the little rabbets the damme vndermines the tree and throwes downe the Eagles nest, and the Eaglets remaine at her mercy.

But *Piso* neuer attempted against his life, although he desired his death, and being allured that it was naturall, this is a great wickednesse to faine that it was violent: the gods would haue it so. It is not permitted to dispute neither with studied arguments nor by way of discourse of their power.

Mala & impia consuetudo communa Dea disputandi, siue ex animo id fiat siue simulate. Cic.

If

If he had sought to gaine any credite amongst the men of warre this was but onely to lessen that of *Germanicus*. His ambition tended to ruine, that of *Piso* to conseruation: the one administred iealousie to *Tiberius* and the other was a bridle to *Germanicus*. If he gained the goodwill of the Prouinces was hee forbidden to cherish it? Are not affections free? what harme is it then if they be rendred reciprocally.

Prompta Pisoni Legionum studia.

Amor affectus liber qui vices exigit. Plin.

But he affected rather to submit himselfe to the bounty of *Cæsar* then obstinatly to put himselfe to the defence of his innocency. He implored with ioyned hands this Royall vertue which detesteth the brutish thirst of bloud, and beseecheth you great Prince to imitate the heauens which haue more thunder to make men afraid, then lightning to punish them.

Ferina rabies sanguine gaudere. Sen.

If all bee inexorable, and that the accusers hasten to take and snatch away that soule which they haue already so stirred and turmoyled, he will dye with this Consolation, that his innocency hath found no protection and that he chose rather to perish then to offend those who might saue him.

Nihil tam periculosum fortunis innocentium, quàm tacere adversarios. Cic.

There was some obscurity in the accusation of the empoysoning, this was a *Pyramide* which shewed not it selfe all at once, for of three sides there is alwayes one which cannot be seene: *Piso* and *Plancina* his wife appeared, but the third hid *Tiberius* and *Tiberius Sejanus*.

This first audience being finished *Piso* came forth, and the people were so much prouoked against him, that if they had not put him into a Coach with some to guard, it he had neuer retorned to his house neither safe nor aliue. That which the vulgar sort could not do

A tribuno deductus, vario rumore, custos salutis an mortis exactor. Tac.

doe to his perſon they did to his repreſentation drawne to the Gibbet.

Plancina his wife who had promiſed him to runne alike fortune with him, forſooke him to fall to lightneſſe, a vice naturall to that ſexe: and being aſſured of her life by the fauour of the Empreſſe ſhe cared no more for that of *Piſo*, and abandoned him as if ſhe had neuer married him, but to partake of his proſperity.

Perſia ſaid, that ſhe was not partner onely at the bed and at the table of her husband, as a concubine: but that ſhe was companion of his good and ill fortune as his wife. *Plut.*

The Iudges out of diuerſe reſpects were implacable againſt the accuſed. *Ceſar* would haue had him put to death becauſe he had entred into the Prouince in armes, the *Senate* beleeued aſſuredly that *Germanicus* was poyſoned, and amongſt violent deaths poyſoning was held to be the greateſt execration: ſo much the rather that becauſe thereby perſons moſt deere and precious were ſnatch't from the Commonwealth: that poyſon entred and mingled it ſelfe more eaſily in veſſells of gold then of earth. There is no *Antidote* which is of greater vertue or efficacy againſt poyſon, then a priuate Condition, which feareth not that auarice can vſurpe vpon his goods nor enuy vpon his dignities. It was certaine neuertheleſſe that this empoyſoning was neuer clearely proued, nor confidently affirmed by the accuſers. It was neither ſpoken of in *Antioch* or in *Rome* but according to the affection that men bare towards the deceaſed, or the hatred towards the liuing.

This opinion was common and *Ioſephus* aſſureth it.

One dranke in a ſiluer veſſell a franticke loue potion in ſtead of Greeke wine and amidſt *Ambroſia* one tooke *Arſenicke* in a golden plate which tooke away his life.

Veneni crimen accuſatores non ſatis firmabant. Tac.

Tacitus ſaith that it was not certaine that any tokens of poyſon appeared vpon his death; *Suetonius*, that he was ſeene couerd ouer with Purple ſpots, a foame about his mouth and that his hart was found whole amongſt

Pretulerit ve-neficij ſigna, parum conſtitit. Tac.

Livores toto corpore, spumæ per os fluebant, cor inter ossa incorruptum. Sue. *Genere morbi defensus est Piso.* Plin. *Negatur cor cremari posse in his qui cardiaco morbo obierint & veneno interemptis.* Plin.

mongst the ashes. *Pliny*, that *Vitellius* pressed *Piso* hard vpon this who made the arrowe rebound against them that shot it; and as some affirmed that *Germanicus* having beene poysoned, his heart resisted the fire, others maintained that *Germanicus* dying of a disease of the heart, his heart could not be burnt. Thus the *Hypothesis* alwayes remained in question and aswell the one as the other had truth on its side, being alike true according to *Pliny* that the heart of those who dye of poyson or of the disease of the heart consumeth not in the fire. But the worst piece of *Pisoes* proces was the extream boldnesse of the people, who taking the report for proose cryde out at the gate of the *Pallace* that they would doe Iustice vpon *Piso* if it were not done.

Nullo magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione sua ira obstinatum clausumq; vidit. Tac.

All this astonied *Piso* very much, who the second day appeared before the *Senate*, to see if they were any whit changed from their former seuerity. He found the ayre quite of a contrary temper, *Tiberius* so cold that for feare to discouer himselfe he inclined neither to choler to ruine him nor to pitty to giue him any hope. He conceiued thereupon that he had no other refuge neither for his innocency nor for his truth. *Seianus* told him neuertheless that *Tiberius* would strike the stroke when it should be fit time, and that he would not suffer him to perish. Others affright him saying that although he were declared innocent for the death of *Germanicus*, they would put him to death for other crimes. For *Tiberius* was so altered vpon that, that he was entred in armes into *Syria*, that he would make an him example, not permitting that his seruice should make compensation for his fault.

He that is conuinced of one crime is punished for many. In offences against the *State* they make no recompence at all according to the merit of the offence.

Seianus

Seianus cared not at all to looſe *Piſo* and prouided alwayes that he ſpake not of the ſecret Commandement, but he feared that ſeing him condemned he might not complaine to the *Senate* of the Iudgement, and of his puniſhment to the Emperor, and that although he ſpake not againſt *Tiberius*, yet he might againſt him. The conſideration of his children extinguiſhed in his minde all the reſentment of the iniurie which he ſuffered, and ſeeing himſelfe about to periſh he was deſirous to periſh alone. And to the end their innocency might bee ſeuered from his puniſhment, hee writ a letter to *Tiberius* beſeeching him to take pittie vpon them, and this being done hee reſolued to make an end of himſelfe by cutting his owne throate. He dyed not for feare of death, but that he might not die according to the pleaſure of his enemies. If there be any thing irkſome in a publique death, it is eſpecially for the griefe and ſhame of the contentment that one giues to their enemies.

The intereſt of children preuayleth about that of the parents.

This is a furie, to die for feare of death.

When this death was reported to the *Senate*, one might obſerue griefe in *Tiberius* his countenance, but it was feined and to ſtupifie theſe Iudgements which any might make to the preiudice of this accident, and to aſſure his Countenance for his diſcourſe hee informed amongſt other things of that which *Piſo* had done the day before and how hee paſſed the night. There were ſome of them that anſwered diſcreetly, others more inconſideratly as in ſuch occaſions, ſome there are who will not ſeeme to know that which one would haue them ignorant of.

Cæſar flexo in mœſtitiam ore. Tacit.

Plerique ſapienter quædam inconſultius. Tac

Vpon this *Tiberius* read the letters that *Piſo* had

written to him in this manner. *Since that (Cæsar) I see my selfe oppressed thorough the conspiracy of mine enemies, and the violence of a false accusation which permitteth not any place in the Senate, neither for the truth, nor for my innocency, the gods are my witnesses that I haue neuer failed of faithfulnes towards you, nor of reuerence towards your mother, and in that respect I beseech you to thinke vpon my children. Gn: Piso ought to haue no part in my fortune whatsoeuer it bee, for he hath not stir'd from* Rome. *M: Piso disswaded mee from going into* Syria, *and I wish that the Father had accommodated himself to the youth of the Sonne, and that the Sonne had not giuen way to the age of the father. For this cause, I beseech you, with great earnestnesse that his innocency beare not the punishment of mine obstinacy: and seeing my selfe in that state that I shall neuer desire any thing more of you. I coniure you by 45. yeeres seruice, by the accompt that* Augustus *your Father held of mee, when I was his Colleague in the Consulship, and for the friendship which you haue borne towards me to saue my poore children.*

Conspiratione inimicorum & inuidiâ falsi criminis veritati & innocentiæ nusquam locus. Tac.

Qualiscunque fortunæ meæ non est adiunctus. Tac.

Pravitatis pœnas innoxius non luat. Tac.

He spake not at all of his wife, and how should he be mindfull of her, who had forgotten him in this extreame distresse, and who had perhaps promised the Empresse and *Sejanus* to open his chamber doore to let in murtherers to kill him.

Nihil quicquam posthac rogaturus salutem infelicis filij rogo. Tac.

Tiberius hauing read the letters said, that although *Piso* had deserued this mishap whereinto hee was headlongly rushed: yet he pitied him for the alone respect of his house; that it was reasonable notwithstanding to conserue the branches of the tree which was cut downe, and not to cause his punishment to passe

passe vpon his innocent children, that absence discharged the one and the command of the father excused the other, and that for this cause they ought not to be comprised vnder the offence of taking of armes. As for *Plancina*, he intreated the *Senate* to yeeld her to the intreaties of his mother. The whole assembly was offended at the impudency and impiety of this demand, honest folke murmured against this woman, as the cause that *Germanicus* was dead and that *Piso* was slaine. *Well then (said they) the Empresse shall haue the credite of sauing the murtherer of her Grandchild to see her, to comfort her for the death of her husband, to snatch her out of the hands of the Senate. Will not the Lawes grant that to* Germanicus *which they deny not to the meanest Citizen?* Vitellius & Veranius *who had no correspondency which* Germanicus *haue deeply lamented his death, and shall* Augustus *his Grandfather defend* Plancina *who hath beene cause of his death? and who can expect other from her, then that the force of her poysons and witcheries hauing had such fortunate successe, she may imploy them also against* Agrippina *and her children, to satisfie the thirst of their Grandsire and the Vncle with the bloud of this miserable family, and to appease the wrath of Sejanus.*

Patris iussa filius non potest detrectare. Tac.

Fas auiæ interfectricem nepotis adspicere, adloqui, eripere Senatui? Tac.

Venena & artes semel feliciter experta in alterius exitium facile vertuntur. Ta.

The opinions being recollected *Aurelius Cotta* said, that the memory of *Piso* ought to be extirpated, and his name raced and blotted out of the publique *Registers* and *Annales*, the moity of his goods confiscate, the other parte giuen to *Gn: Piso* his son to change his name: that *M: Piso* should bee depriued of his Offices, and banished for ten yeares with 500. *Sesterces* for his entertainement, that *Plancina* should

Nomina scelestorum è fastis radenda. Ta.

Concessa Plancinæ impunitas ob preces Augustæ. Tacit.

haue her life granted to her in regard of the requests of the Empresse. Euery one allowed of this aduise.

Pudore flagitij princeps placabilior fit. Tac.

Tiberius who had what he desired sweetned the rigor of this iudgement, for the hatred of the absolution of *Plancina* made him lesse seuere towards her sonnes, not holding it conuenient that hee should pardon the mother being a Murdresse to condemne the innocent children. He said that the name of *Piso* should remaine in the *Kalenders*, aswel as that of *Antony* who had made war against his Country. *Messalina* said, that he ought to hang vp a golden ensigne in the Temple of *Mars* the auenger and *Cæcinna Seuerus* an altar to reuenge. No (saith *Tiberius*) that is not fitting but only in case of victories gotten of strangers; we must couer domesticke miseries with sadnesse.

Domestica mala tristitiâ operienda. Tac.

Fulcinius Trio who had so mightily declaimed against *Piso* besought him to ayde him, with his fauour to arriue to his offices, he answered him. Take heed of precipitating your eloquence through the impetuosity of your passion; he was angry that he had too much pressed *Piso* touching this poyson, for all the words which hee spake of this subiect touched him to the quick: he was desirous that he would represent *Agrippinaes* passion without shewing himselfe passionate. Behold how these vanities of humane things end.

Facundia non est violentiâ præcipitanda. Ta.

Rerum humanarum ubiq; ludibria. Tac,

Audivi ex senioribus qui ad nostram usq; iuventam durauerunt. Ta.

Tacitus saith to this purpose: I remember that I haue heard in my youth of some of this time who had often seene certaine peeces of writing in the hands of *Piso* which he neuer published, but that his friends told euery where, that they conteyned the Commission and commands that *Tiberius* had giuen him against *Germanicus*; and that he had resolued to haue produced them

them in the Senate to conuince the Prince, but that *Seianus* had deceiued him through his vaine promises and that he was not slaine by him, but that he had sent one to slay him in the night.

Elusus à Seiano per vana promissa Piso. Tac.

Death freed *Piso*, but *Tiberius* and *Seianus* were accompted neuer the more innocent, and one might euery night heare cries about the *Pallace. Restore to vs Germanicus.*

Per noctes creberrimè acclamatum est, Redde Germanicum. Suet.

This death whether it were voluntary or forced, diminished the hatred of the people against *Piso* and increased it against *Tiberius*, and so much the more in that he had saued his wife, and hauing brought this miserable man into the pit would not drawe him forth againe.

If *Piso* had left his cause to the course of iustice and law, and that he had suffered death as one who neuer had feared it, one would haue pittied his misery. There is no life so odious that ending in publique with constancy and modesty, changeth not hatred into pitty, pitty into fauour, and leaueth not some fauourable opinion of innocency.

Confidence lesseneth the infamy of punishment.

Germanicus his death gaue lesse contentment to *Seianus* than to *Tiberius*, for this Prince held all their resolutions in check. *Tiberius* knew that so long as he liued he should not be Emperor. *Seianus* despaired that he euer could be, and that he might dispose of the Empire so absolutely as he did afterwards, for this Prince kept him short, and as it were in a strict dyet. The great affection which he held in the hearts of the great ones, middle ones and meane ones, mightily crossed his ambition. But after his death fortune bare him vp the wind so, that his pride and insolence split the sayles of his vessell and of his conduct.

Our enemies constraine vs to liue regularly and to keepe our life vnreproueable, as it were in a thinne dyet. *Plut.*

Tiberius beleeued that he had more authority, but he was neuer the leſſe miſtruſtfull, imagining that ſo many friends as *Germanicus* had left, ſo many conſpirators there were and therefore he ſaid, that he held the Empire but as a wolfe by the eares, fearing leaſt it ſhould eſcape him, & being eſcaped bite him; he feared that euery one had a purpoſe to take it from him. He cauſed the natiuities of the principle men of *Rome* to be caſt, and according as it was reported vnto him that their Starres promiſed ſome excellency aboue others, he ſuppreſſed, baniſhed and put them to death. He vnderſtood that *Galba* might attaine thereunto, and therefore meeting with him the day he was married, he ſaid vnto him, and thou *Galba* ſhalt one day taſt of the Empire, and yet hee enterpriſed nothing againſt him, becauſe this dignitie was fatally deſtined for him.

Lupum auribus teneo.

Dion & Tac.

Seianus amongſt the precepts of his gouernment had this, to nouriſh diſtruſt alwayes in the heart of *Tiberius*, to the end that he truſting none elſe might put confidence in him. The greater houſen which were diſcended, from thoſe braue and generous ſpirits, who were ſacrificed for preſeruing the libertie of their Countrey, were ſuſpected of *Tiberius*; who deſired to raiſe the principality aboue the foundation of *Auguſtus*, and hatefull to *Seianus* who could not brooke, that vertue ſhould oppoſe his fortune. *Liboni proauus Pompeius, amita Scribonia, conſobrini Cæſares. Tac.*

Drusus being diſcended by his father from *Auguſtus*, and by his mother from *Pompey* the great was one of the principall yong men of *Rome*, and as this birth giuing hope to his courage, gained him reſpect amongſt

the great ones, ſo the ſame was the cauſe of his fall.

His youth being forward and without iudgement, carryed him to thoughts higher then the times permitted them, and hee was for this cauſe alwayes ſo ſuſpected by *Tiberius*, that being at the ſacrifices, hee commanded the Maſter of the Ceremonies to giue to *Libo* one of the *Sacrificers* a knife of lead, to the end that he ſhould attempt nothing againſt his perſon. Another time he demaunding audience in ſecret, he cauſed his ſonne *Druſus* to come thether, and feining to haue neede to be ſupported in his walking, hee held faſt *Liboes* right hand, who ſpake to him, carrying his eye firmely vpon all his motions. This young man had one of the *Romane Senators* his entire friend, who plotted his ruine, conſidering that to aduance his fortune the ſhorteſt way, was to ruinate thoſe that ſhadowed that of *Sejanus*. Hee poſſeſſed this light ſpirit, that there was ſome great matter written in heauen for him, hee lead him to debauched courſes which drew on exceſſiue expences, and he conducted him into thoſe diſcommodities, that this naughty friend did nothing but lull him a ſleepe with nothing but vaine hopes. Neceſſitie made him dreame, to what hee ſhould come, and put him into the curioſity to informe himſelfe of *Aſtrologers*, of that which the ſtarres had promiſed him, the ordinary refuge of weake minds that ſeeke patronage. To know more alſo, his friend cauſed him to conferre with *Magicians*, who demanded of their *Deuils* that which they knew, and who told him nothing true; for a little after all his hopes were turned into deſpaire.

Deſirtur moliri res nouas. Ta.

Iuuenis improuidus & facilis inanibus. Ta.

Hortatur ad luxum & ea alienum ſocius libidinum & neceſſitatum, quo plurimis indiciis indagaret. Ta.

The

Tib. non vultu alienatus non verbis commotior cuncta eius dicta factaque cum prohibere posset scire malebat. Ta.

The Senator reported all this to *Tiberius*, who was glad to see this yong man saine into the pit, and yet neuertheleſſe he forbore not to ſhew him good countenance to giue him the eſtate of a *Prætor*, and ſent for him often to his Table. Vpon a ſuddaine he cauſeth him to be accuſed to the Senate as of a great enormious and important matter. Behold him brought now into the ſtate of an accuſed man, he changeth his garments, the chiefe Ladies of the Citie being a kinne to him ſollicite for him; there's no man will meddle with his defence, for when the queſtion is of conſpiracy againſt the Prince, all interceſſions are ſuſpected, and fauours, crimes. He goeth to the Pallace in a Lectica, for this blow being not fore-ſeene had abated the vigor of his health, and ſuſtained by the hand of his brother, he entreth the Senate houſe, and when he ſaw *Tiberius* a great way off, he held vp his hands imploring mercy with great humility.

Reus abſoletiùs veſtiebatur. Cic.

It was not permitted to ſicke perſons to goe in their Litter but to the dore of the Senate.

This Tigre laid hold with his teeth on all the excellent Spirits of his times. A Poet hauing vttered ſome free words againſt him, was put to death; not for that, but becauſe in a certaine Tragedy he had diſgraced *Agamemnon*, and tranſgreſſed againſt the reſpect due to Kings, *Tiberius* puniſhed the offences againſt *Sejanus*, as rigorouſly as thoſe againſt himſelfe; for they made him beleeue that hee receiued the Counterbuffe of all that was done againſt him. Princes are offended when we blame their fauorites, becauſe it ſeemes we accuſe the weakeneſſe of their iudgements in the election of a Subiect vnworthy their fauour. The workeman is obliged to protect his workemanſhip, the painter is angry if one caſt durt on the Table he hath painted,

Quod in Tragœdiâ Agamemnonem probris laceſſiſſet. Suet.

He that blameth the fauour of the Prince blameth his iudgement.

ted, They ſeeke out old faults to ſerue for new examples of ſeuerity. The Senate had ordained that *Seianus* his Statue ſhould be erected in *Pompeis* theatre, which *Tiberius* had cauſed to be reedified, *Cordus* ſtung with this iniury done to the memory of *Pompey*, cried out that that was not the way to doe but to vndoe, and to place *Seianus* aboue the heades of all the *Romans* and to ſet vp a ſimple ſouldier on the Monument of a renowned Captaine. He ſaid true, but truth doth not excuſe indiſcretion, which beareh inconſiderately the cenſure of great ones. *Seianus* remembred it, yet accuſeth him not for it, but diſpoſeth *Tiberius* to looke into his life, of which, all the parts were found innocent and praiſeworthy: but his writings are likewiſe examined, and a hiſtory which he had penned of *Auguſtus*, and which *Auguſtus* himſelfe had read. Hee was accuſed that he had not ſufficiently extolled *Cæſar* nor *Auguſtus*, and that he had to much praiſed *Brutus*, and to haue termed *Caſſius* the laſt man among the *Romans*.

Qui non rumperetur ſupra cineres Gn. Pompeij conſtituere Seianum? Sen.

Novum ac primum auditum crimen. Ta.

Plut.

Satrius Secundus and *Pinarius Natta* were his accuſers, *Seianus* his creatures; and this quality made the ruine of the accuſed vnfallible, and put his innocency into deſpaire. The Iudge himſelfe made him perceiue by his ſad countenance and terrible language, that hee was ſet there not to heare, but to condemne him; not to make his proceſſe but to appoint his puniſhment; neither did *Cordus* moue for the ſafety of his life, for he was ſure to loſe it; but for the honour of the truth, and glory of his workes, he ſpake in this manner,

Le credit des accuſateurs, ceſt le deſeſpoir del accuſees.

Seiani clientes, id perniciabile reo. Tac.

L' innocence des actions doit excuſer le faute de parolles.

Verba mea arguuntur, adeo ſum factorum innocens.

My actions are ſo innocent, that they accuſe onely my words; and yet haue they not offended neither the

Emperor nor his mother, who onely are comprehended within the law of Maiesty. They say I haue praised *Brutus* and *Cassius*, whose actions are reported by many, and there is none who haue reported them without honour. *Titus Livius* to whom is attributed the prize of eloquence and truth, did so highly commend *Pompey*, that *Augustus* called him *Pompejan*, which neuerthelesse made no breach in their friendship.

Il ny a point d'historien, qui ne se passione pour l'un ou pour l'autre.

He vseth not the names of Robbers and Parricides which now are imposed vpon *Scipio*, *Afranius*, this *Cassius* and this *Brutus*, but he often stiles them braue and valiant men. The history of *Asinius Pollio* makes honourable mention of them. *Messala Corvinus* extolled *Cassius* as being his generall, and that did preiudice neither of them, but that they were mighty in riches and honours. *Cæsar* the Dictator contented himselfe with answering in a written Oration, as before his Iudges the booke which *Cicero* composed raising to the heauens *Cato* his enemy. The Epistles of *Antony* and speeches of *Brutus* reproach *Augustus* with many fals things, expressing them with much bitternes and audacity. *The reading of* Bibaculus *and* Catullus *is not giuen ouer though farced with iniuries against the Cæsars,* Iulius *and* Augustus *haue suffered and contemned them: and it is hard to say whether in that they haue shewne more moderation then wisdome, for calumnies being dispised vanishe away, but in seeking reuenge are confirmed. I doe not speake at all of the Græcians, for not onely their liberty but also their temerity escaped vnpunished, and if they haue bin chastized by any, words haue beene the reuenge of words. But*

Scipio personage digne de toute louange bellique. *Plut.*

Afranius Lieutenant de Pompeie contre les Parthes et Arabes. *Plut.*

Cassius ennemy de tyrans de son infance. *Plut.*

Brutus bienvolu du peuple, aimé des siens estimé de gens du bien, hay de nul. Voy l'epigramme 30 de Catul.

Convitia sprata exolescunt, si irascare, agnita videntur. Ta.

it

it was euer free and without reprehenſion to ſpeake of them whom death hath infranchiſed, from hate or fauour: will they obiect that I haue moued the people to ſtirre and take armes for ciuill warres, while Caſſius *and* Brutus *were armed in the Philippian plaine? there are ſixty and ſix yeares paſt ſince they died, as appeares by their ſtatues which the victorious themſelues haue not pulled downe. Writings alſo preſerue their memories. Poſterity rendreth to euery one the honour wich to him appertayneth: and if I be condemned, there will be ſome that will call to minde not onely* Caſſius *and* Brutus, *but alſo my ſelfe.*

He had cauſe to enrich his diſcourſe with the examples of *Ceſar* and *Auguſtus*, for in the world there was not any thing which may bee paralel'd to their generous bounty in pardoning obloquies. *Caluus* the Oratour and *Catullus* the Poet had outragiouſly detracted from *Ceſar*, the truth placed ſhame in their foreheads, and repentance in their conſcience; *Ceſar* contented himſelfe with that, and ſeeing that *Caluus* deſired his friendſhip, but durſt not require it, he offer'd it vnto him by an expreſſe letter, and for *Catullus* he inuited him to ſupper the ſame day that he had publiſhed his poeme againſt him.

C. Caluo poſt famoſa Epigrammata de reconciliatione per amicos agenti ultro ac prior ſcripſit. Suet.

Valer. Catullus perpetuas ſtigmata ſuis verſiculis impoſuit Ceſari. Suet.

For *Auguſtus*, I cannot finde his equall, *Timagenes* a noble Hiſtorian, did write againſt him, his wife, his daughter and all his houſe; he aduiſed him both to vſe his pen and tongue with greater modeſty, eſpecially in his owne houſe, and towards his friends: for *Auguſtus* nouriſhed him. Extreame ingratitude! he continued his courſe; *Auguſtus* being inforced to interrupt him, deſired him to retire himſelfe from his houſe;

Timagenem Ceſar monuit, ut moderatius linguâ uteretur, perſeueranti domo ſuâ interdixit: poſtea in contubernio Pollionis aſſinii conſenuit. Sen.

Asinius Pollio esteeming more the gentlenesse of this spirit then the respect of the Emperor, lodged and entertayned him; *Timagenes* wholely declared himselfe the perpetuall enemy of *Augustus*, burnt the faire history which hee compiled of his reigne, to make it knowne that he deserued not that he should write of him, or that the good he spake of him was but a lie; *Augustus* digested all this, saying onely vnto *Pollio* you nourish a serpent, *Pollio* intending to turne him away to excuse himselfe, he closed his lips saying, keepe him my friend, make vse of him. Is it possible that *Rome* vnder such a Prince would repine to haue lost her liberty, she hath well tried since, what she hath lost in the change; it was the same flock but not the same shepheard.

Fruere, mi Pollio, fruere.

Subinde iactat in ciuitate liberd linguam mentemque liberas esse debere

Wee must needs say that *Seianus* hath strangely corrupted the nature of *Tiberius*, rendring him so seuere in punishing the iniuries of his predecessors, who made so small reckoning of his owne, and said that in free Cities, mens tongues should not be captiue; *Augustus* gaue him this counsell, for he complaining of his dissimulation against this vnbridled liberty of reproaching him, he writ these words, *Tiberius my sonne flatter not your youth, nor your choler to beleeue there is any speakes ill of me, it is sufficient that we may preuent that they doe vs no harme.*

Satis est, si hoc habemus, ne quis nobis male facere possit. D. Aug.

As for him selfe he did but laugh at the *Satires* and *Buffooneries* which they had published against him, and touching that which the Senate would haue giuen him informations of, hee told them we haue not leisure to imbrake our selues in these broiles, and if we open this window, you will be able to do nothing else,

Non tantum habemus otium, P. C. vt implicare nos pluribus negotijs debeamus, si hanc fenestram aperuerimus, nihil aliud agi finetis. D. Tib.

and

and you shalbe importuned euery day with particular complaints.

Cordus hauing so stoutly and elegantly spoken retired himselfe vnto his house, very irresolute what course to take, if he desired to liue, he must intreat *Seianus*, if to die, his daughter, both were inexorable: his courage not permitting him to yeeld vnto the one, he resolued to deceiue the other; not to giue any inkling of his resolution he bathed for some dayes, and the better to amuse his daughter after the bath, retired himselfe to his chamber, there to take his refection, and sending away his seruants threw out of the window some part of that they had brought him, to make them beleeue it was the fragments of that which hee did eat. The houre of supper being come, he told his daughter he had no stomack to eat, and that his former collation would serue him in stead of a supper; she did not presse him further, beleeuing all was true, and not supposing that what she approued for his health should be for his death.

Si vivere vellet, Seianus rogandus erat, si mori, filia, utrique inexorabilis. Constituit filiam fallere. Sen.

A l'issue du bain on portoit a la chambre du moust des œufs frais.

Quædam per fenestram, ut videretur edisse, proiecit, à cœnâ deinde, quasi iam satis in cubiculo edisset, abstinuit. Sen.

He continued in this rigorous deuize vntill the fourth day, his weaknesse displayed it selfe, his extreame sorrow was agreed with abstinence, which was not violent enough to make an end of him in so few dayes, for famine would dispence with many more.

Homini non ante septimum diem letalis inedia: durasse & ultra undecimum plerósque certum est. Plin.

His daughter being so deluded, coniured him by intreaties and teares, to liue for her sake, and for his owne; these prayers came too late, his glasse is almost runne out, he is at the last period of his life, and then embraced his daughter and said, Martia I am too farre aduanced in the way of death to retreate, I am more then halfe way, thou neither oughtest nor canst retaine me.

Iter mortis ingressus sum & iam medium fere teneo: revocare me nec debes nec potes. Sen.

Et faucibus avidissimorum luporum educitur præda. Sen.

Magna res erat in quæstione an mortis rei perderentur: dum deliberatur, dum accusatores iterum adeunt, ille se absolverat. Sen.

Scripta actoris calamitate. Dio.

This done, hee caused the Tapers to bee put out, the better to hide himselfe and steale away in darkenesse: his seruants seeing this his resolution so strong, and so farre aduanced were not a whit sorry that the wolues should misse of their prey: and then it was that his accusers by the commandement of *Seianus* ran to the Consuls to tell them that *Cordus* was a dying, that is to say, that he escaped them, then grew it to a question in Court whether they might hinder an accused person from putting himselfe to death, but while they dispute how to resolue this, and to condemne him he absolues himselfe.

Vir Romanus qui subactis iam cervicibus, omnium & ad Seiani iugum adductis indomitus sit homo ingenio animo, manu liber. Sen.

Præsenti potentiâ non extinguitur sequentis ævi memoria. Ta.

Punitis ingeniis gliscit authoritas. Ta.

His bookes were burned by the Ædils. The calamity of the author and the excellency of the stile made them more famous and with greater curiosity to bee sought after and studied: *Martia* preserued them and restored them to the world to renew the memorie of her father who had writen them with his owne blood, who remayned firme and inuincible when euery man yeelded his neck to the yoak of *Seianus*, and had alwayes shewed both in his discourse, writings and mind, the ancient liberty. Princes deceiue themselues in being too passionate about smothering such writings as displease them, the forbidding them whets on mens desires, and difficulty approues curiosity; if feare suppresse them during their liues, they appeare more boldly after their deaths. The punishment of the author augments the reputation of his workes, the punishment it selfe is odious; he which inflicts it is blamed, and he that suffereth hath the honour.

And we finde that this fury against bookes had his beginnig vnder *Tiberius*; for what had it beene, if the

Triumuirs

Triumuirs had proſcribed or burnt theſe of *Cicero*: *Cetigula*, renued theſe of *Cordus*, and thought himſelfe intereſſed ſo to doe that poſterity may know the liues and deeds of their predeceſſors. What contentment is it to ſee the hiſtory of ſo good a pen, of a courage ſo free and bold, of ſuch a diſcourſe as that hee made in the Senate, and ſuch an example as *Seneca* left vs vpon the death of *Cicero* in theſe tearmes?

Rep. Intereſt ne facta quæ poſteritati tradantur. Sen.

Antony receiued great contentment when one brought him the head of *Cicero*, and ſaid that his proſcription was then at an end, for he was not onely ſatisfied, but wearied with the maſſacre of ſo many men: he commanded it ſhould be expoſed to the view of the people in the publique place where they made the Orations. In the ſame place where the people drawne by the reputation of his eloquence preſſed to follow him, where they gaue eare vnto his ſeruiceable ſpeeches which haue preſerued ſo many heads, he is now made a ſpectacle vnto his citizens, not with the ſame ioy or in the ſame manner, they had admired him liuing and intire; but the blood couering his head and diſfiguring his viſage, the ſame head which in former time commanded in the Senate and was the ornament of the Romane name, now ſerues for a recompence to him who did ſeperate it from his body.

Non ſatiatus modo cedendis civibus, ſed defeſſus. Sen. P.

Pijs contionibus multorum capita ſeruarat. Sen P.

All their hearts burſt forth into teares and lamentations when they beheld his right hand the inſtrument of his diuine eloquence made faſt vnto his head: the death of all beſides himſelfe were but particularly lamented; all did ioyne in mourning for this generall loſſe, we are not onely to beleeue the greatneſſe, but to admire the number of his vertues; when he ſaw what they

Cæterorum cædes priuatorum luctus excitauerunt, illa una communes.

Optimè meruit de posteris, ad quos venit incorrupta rerum fides.

they meant to *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and *Sextus Pompeius*, he spake these words, *euery thing displeaseth me but death.*

Cordus did write the history of his owne time, and it may be that leauing the truth vntainted to posterity, he spake honourably of those that suffred death in defence of their ancient liberty, for the feare of death excuseth not him which offendeth against the truth to please fortune. To publish false storie, or to giue false instructions vnto them that write, is but to murther them that passe thorow the high way of beleefe: retaining in his discourse the same liberty which hee had done in his writings, he contemned the pride of *Seianus* and to deliuer himselfe from the hands of so puissant a man, made it knowne that he was truely a man, with drawing himselfe from the number of miserable men.

Dion saith that often opinions past against his and that hee was not offended.

This misery was not so frequent amongst the Romans while *Germanicus* liued, these two lions as yet kept in their clawes: feare ruled the actions of *Tiberius* and necessity bridled the insolency of *Seianus*: *Dion* saith, that so long as *Germanicus* liued, *Tiberius* did nothing of himselfe, he restored all manner of affaires to the Senate, administred iustice by the aduise of them who assisted him, thought good that euery man should giue his aduise, suffered himselfe to bee contradicted, and sometimes taken vp in his opinions.

Tiberius was wont to say, I am Lord of slaues, Emperour of souldiers, and prince of all the rest.

Hee would not permit himselfe to bee called Lord, but of slaues, and Emperour onely of the souldiers; he flatly refused the title of Father of the Countrey: in speeches and petitions he passed by the name of *Augustus*, and in his dispatches to Kings, and contented himselfe euery where else with the name of

Cæsar

Cæsar and prince of the Senate: his ordinary wishes were, that the heauens might grant him life so long as the commonwealth should haue need of his seruice.

Germanicus liuing, his birth day was not solemnized; they neuer swore by his fortune, they erected him neither statue nor temple, when he passed thorow the the Citie there was neither Senator, Patrician, Romane Knight, nor any other Lord of quality in his traine: comporting himselfe in all things, as if hee had liued vnder a popular gouernment, so farre as to make funerall orations for particular persons. All this was during the life of *Germanicus*, but after his death all was changed.

If he did commit any violence it was coloured and cloaked with apparances of reason or necessity, or if it were secret, it was so carried that it neuer came to light; *Clement* a famous Impostor murthered his master *Agrippa Posthumus* the grand child of *Augustus*, and because they were of the same yeares and proportion, he caused a report to be raised secretly, as a thing dangerous, after published as pleasing newes, that *Agrippa* was aliue: for it is true that the Emperors mother caused him to be slaine immediatly after the death of *Augustus*. Whose memory was so deare and venerable, that vnder this name he found friends in *Gaule*, succour in *Italy*, and credence in *Rome*, the people crying, and beleeuing that the Gods had reserued him for the good of the Empire. *Tiberius* considering that fame and legerity supported this fable, and that there could not so little credit bee giuen to it, but that it might preiudice his affaires, made meanes to intrappe him by some who fained themselues to be of his plot: when he was before him he marueled that hee did so handsomely manage this imposture, and asked him Ambition lurks for a long time after to appeare great.

The Emperour *Augustus* to please *Liuia* did banish him to the Isle of *Planesia*. *Vetita occultis primum sermonibus crebrescunt.* Tac.

Veritas visu & mora, falsa fassitatione & incerti voluntur.

Percontanti Tiberio quomodo Agrippa factus esset, respondisse fertur, quomodo tu Cæsar? Tac.

by what title doe you make your selfe *Agrippa*, the gallant replyed, by the same thou makest thy selfe *Cæsar*? Torments could not wrest from him the names of his accomplices; and although *Tiberius* knew well that he was assisted with mony and counsell by men of the greatest ranke, yet he made no inquiry after them; he put him to death without noyse, and there was no more spoken of it.

Inanis credulitas tempore ipso vanuit.

Tiberius then had cause to reckon the death of *Germanicus* amongst the happiest daies of his life, and *Sejanus* ranked it amongst the greatest stroakes of his fortunes: but the same enmity they bore towards the Father, they continued to his Children, dissembling it neuertheles as much as they could, because it should not appeare but in conuenient time, and couering it with shewes of affection towards them, *Tiberius* intreated the Senate to dispence with the age of *Nero*, to vndergoe publike offices, and at fifteene yeares to be made a Questor, which office was neuer borne before two and twenty, he was also named high Priest, and at the day of his entry to this office he made largesse of prouisions to the people, which reioyced to see the children of *Germanicus*, in a flourishing youthfulnes. For increase of ioy he espoused *Iulia* the daughter of *Drusus*, but all was conuerted to disdaine, when they saw that the daughter of *Sejanus* was affianced to *Drusus* the sonne of *Claudius*, esteeming this great house to bee dishonoured by that alliance, and that it did but giue too much confidence to one who already had gained the greatest power, and who held himselfe but miserable if he did not command, not enduring to liue as a priuate person; heauen which would haue no fruit

Neronem è liberis Germanici iam ingressum iuventam commendavit patribus, non sine risu audientium. Tac. *Contrarium plebi.* Tac. *Ut illa secundis, ita hæc adversis animis accepta.* Tacit.

Iason tyrant of *Pheres* said that he would die of hunger, if he did faile of the tyranny, for he could not liue *Idiot*. *Idiot* is a priuate person.

from

from so bad a tree, disposed of all otherwise. *Drusus* sporting himselfe in the towne of *Pompey* threw a peare vp into the ayre, and receiuing it with an open mouth was choaked, and this young maid bearing her part at the miserable end of her father, made her Epithalamium at the foot of the gibbet, as may be seene in its proper place; their hate was not so inraged against *Seianus*, as there wanted not some who spake, that hee had made this mariage of purpose to dispatch his sonne in law.

This opinion could be built vpon no other foundation, but that this young Prince made shew of great disdaine of this alliance, or too much distaste to be the sonne in law of a man so odious, which had no honour in him, his predecessors had acquired him none, neither could hee leaue his children any; and receiued no praise but from them, whom himselfe dare not commend.

Mirum fuisse qui traderent à Seiano necatum. Suet.

Vaine is the praise which commeth not from a commendable man. *Plut.*

Drusus could not endure this insolencie nor that *Tiberius* should prefer strange counsels and affections before naturall, he ceased not to tell his wife who betrayed him, and his friends who deceiued him; that it wanted but a little that *Seianus* was not *Tiberius* his fellow as well as hi coadiutor, and his children, kinsmen to *Drusus*: that his ambition had some deepe ayme, that it was not like to rest there; for the first hopes of rule are difficult, but when men haue gotten vp meanes to maintaine themselues there are neuer wanting, this he said often and to many, they were his ordinary complaints; an afflicted spirit neuer ceaseth to bemoane it selfe, and euer lay his hand vpon his sore.

Secreta viri corrupta uxore produntur. Tac.

Prima dominandi spes in arduo, ubi sis ingressus adsunt studia & ministri. Tac.

According to mens natures they receiue their denomination, for Dion saith, that *Druſus* was called *Caſtor*, and that ſharpe pointed ſwords were called *Druſians*. *Tribunitia poteſtas ſummi faſtigij vocabatur*. Tac.

This prince bore an extreame hatred to *Seianus* and he was ſo ready to ſtrike, that they ſirnamed him *Caſtor*; and being no longer able to endure this gallant that play'd the companion with him, had once his hand vp to ſtrike him, and the other alſo doing the like toward the blow: *Druſus* ſtruck him on the face. *Dion* and *Zonaras* write that *Seianus* ſtruck *Druſus*, but there is no likelyhood he was ſo bold with the Emperors ſonne, which was young, couragious, an aſſociate in the Empire, and held in the power of tribune, the greateſt next to ſouerainty.

A ſtab is alwayes due for a box on the eare, and is a correlatiue to it, but thoſe blowes which proceed from the princes hand ought to be receiued, but with patience and humility: he that may kill obligeth one when he doth but hurt him. This ſo freſh an offence reuiued thoſe which time had almoſt withered in *Seianus*: the hiſtory notwithſtanding reports not that hee made any complaint thereof, nor that *Tiberius* did chide his ſonne for hauing in ſuch ſort abuſed him whom he had choſen aboue all others to ayde him, to ſupport the principall affaires of the Empire; for it is but a bad exployt to ſeeke occaſions to prouoke the Emperour againſt the Prince.

Tib. Seianum ſingularem principalium onerum adiutorem in omnia habuit. Vell.

Not dareing to complaine thereof, hee reſolues to be reuenged, and as reuenge is alwayes ingenious to finde the meanes to ſatisfie the offended, he found no better wedge to cleaue this knot withall than one made of the wood it ſelf; & to win the wife to vndoe the husband: ſhe was faire, but her beauty agreed not with her honor, ſhe conſented to the ſollicitations of *Seianus*, vnto whom none refuſed to yeeld any thing, ſeeing that

Rara eſt concordia formæ atque pudicitiæ. Iuv.

Tiberius

Tiberius gaue him all; acquaintance begat affection, and that which at the beginning was but loue, became adultery, and the adultery witchcraft: a strange blindnesse that a neece to *Augustus*, the daughter in law to *Tiberius*, the daughter of *Drusus*, the sister of *Germanicus*, the Emperors sonnes wife, and the mother of two princes, capable of attayning the Empire, should staine her honour, dishonour her house to consent to the pleasure of a plebeian: but great beauties will bee admired, and powerfull fauours are sought after. *Seianus* could doe all through his fauour, and *Liuia* was beloued of euery one for her beauty; to demand wherefore we loue that which is faire, is the question of a blinde man; but this is farre greater blindnesse to thinke that great men cannot doe whatsoeuer they desire. Hauing the body then at his pleasure, he managed the heart as he pleased; the first limbe was the bridge to all the succeeding. When a woman hath lost her chastity she hath no more to lose or to refuse: loue had caused the adultery, ambition procured the murther, and from the one they passed on boldly to the other; *Seianus* infuseth into her spirit a desire to be the wife of an Emperor, she beleeues that he could doe what he said; for *Tiberius* reigned not, but in his person and vnder his will: she harkeneth thereunto, and relisheth it, and the pleasure which she shewes in her attention differs not much from her consent. Their wills which are agreed for loue, are vnited for marriage, and conspire to the same purpose to breake all obstacles, *Seianus* by diuorcing of *Apicata* and *Liuia* by the death of *Drusus*.

Se ac maiores & posteros municipali adultero fœdabat. Ta.

Vnto a question made vnto *Aristotle*, wherefore is it that we loue that which is faire, he answered *Tuphlou to erotema.*

Fœmina amissa pudicitia alia flagitia non abnuit. Tac.

The fort which will admit of a parley is halfe rendred.

Magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adfert. Tac.

But as great mischiefes cannot be soone hatched, for

feare doth breed an irresolution therein, astonishment dela, yand delay augments the difficulty thereof; they were not so much troubled to resolue on the act, as to finde the meanes and the manner. The order and secrecy, which ought to be exactly obserued in matters of importance were not forgotten in this abominable act. They resolued to poyson him, and considering that if the poyson were giuen in his meat, some other might be ouertaken and deceiued; they resolued therefore to giue it in a medicine which he should take, and which should worke so slowly, that his death should be imputed vnto nature and chance, not vnto violence and treachery.

Eudemus amicus ac medicus Liuiæ specie artis frequens secretis. Tac.

Liuia imployed herein *Eudemus* her physitian, who in this quality, and vnder fauour of his profession, was ordinarily in her Cabinet. *Tacitus* saith, hee was her priuate friend, and *Pliny*, her adulterer: *Adulteria etiam in principum domibus, vt Eudemi in Liuia Drusi Cæsaris.* Plin.

Seianus seduceth *Ligdus* an Eunuch, and one of the most trusty domestick seruants of *Drusus*; and to vnite his heart more strictly to him, hee most vildly abused his body; who was both young and faire. These infamous persons combine vpon an execrable attempt: *Seianus* the assasin conceiues it, *Liuia* the adultresse giues her consent, the ruffian *Eudemus* compounds the drugge, *Ligdus* the Ganimed presents the same. Foure persons who deserued to giue their hearts, which deuised and consented vnto so horrible an attempt against the only sonne of the Emperor, to be perpetually deuoured by sixteene vultures. They all of them perished miserably, and so may those furies all of them perish which vndertake against the liues of their Princes.

Rumor Seianum Ligdi spadonis animum stupro vicisse. Ta.

Iupiter said vnto *Prometheus*, that he deserued to haue his heart and liuer to be deuoured.

Drusus without any mistrust tooke away from *Ligdus*

dus his Eunuchs hands this mortall medicine, and that which hee beleeued ſhould ſerue for his health, haſtened his death, but with ſo little violence, that the languiſhment and length thereof tooke away all ſuſpition of poyſon; but time which diſcouers all things drew the truth out of obſcurity, and *Apicata* wife to *Seianus*, eight yeares after gaue the firſt hint thereof. We may wonder that a couragious woman wounded in her honour and baniſhed from her husbands company, by an adultreſſe ſhould hold her peace for ſo long time; but this diſcourſe ſhall not end before wee take away this aſtoniſhment.

Ordo ſceleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus, tormentis Eudemi ac Ligdi patefactus eſt. Ta.

The actions of *Seianus* were ſo notorious, and *Tiberius* for fauouring him ſo hated, that being already infamous through ſo many famous and notable crimes, it was ſuppoſed that he had procured *Druſus* his death by the hand of *Tiberius*, putting him in the head that his ſonne (that he might reigne) had reſolued his death, and that he ſhould therefore take heed when he ſhould dine at his houſe not to drinke the firſt draught ſhould be offred vnto him; that *Tiberius* receiuing the cup from the hands of the cup-bearer, had preſented it to *Druſus*, and that ſhame and feare permitting him not to refuſe it, he had ſwallowed the poiſon prepared for his father: an impoſture without any ground or likelyhood at all.

Seianus facinorum omnium reperior habebatur ex nimia caritate in eum Cæſaris. Ta.

Druſo ignaro & inueniliter hauriente poculum cunctis ſuſpicio, tanquam metu & pudore ſibimet irrogaret mortem, quam patri ſtruxerat.

For it had not beene ſo eaſie for *Druſus* to doe this miſchiefe, becauſe his father tooke nothing without aſſaye, and that *Ciſtome* had beene brought thither from the Perſian Court ſince *Auguſtus* his time. But let them make *Tiberius* as cruell as they will, they can neuer take from him the honor of being a wiſe Prince, ſubtill

He that made the aſſay is called in ancient writings a potione or prægustator *Xenophon, oinochoos.*

subtill and mistrustfull, and he might be taxed of great indiscretion if he determined to put his sonne to death vpon the bare aduice of *Seianus*, and before hee were exactly informed of the cause and conspirators of this treason.

Atrocior semper fama erga dominantium exitus. Ta.

This comes but from the malignity of reports which little fauour the actions of Princes, all that *Tiberius* hath done, hath beene curiously collected and published, and yet there were neuer any found so transported with hatred or passion to dishonour his memory, who haue taxed him with this Parricide. Wee must not admit without suspition of all that common fame reports, nor prefer matters vncredible though they be credibly sought for, before that which is true, and are often disguised with false apparances, and vaine wonders to worke astonishment in mens minds.

Divulgata atq; incredibilia avidè accepta non sunt ante habenda veris, neque in miraculum corruptis. Ta.

Simulatio habitum ac voces dolentium induit. Ta.

This death gaue the hope of succession vnto *Germanicus* his children, and although the Senate for *Tiberius* his sake lamented this accident, their teares were but fained, and their griefes without sorrow; for there was no body but was very well content to see that by this death the house of *Germanicus* began to spring againe, nor was *Drusus* beloued for the extreme hatred they bare to his father, for he was very debauched. And as the vices of others displease euen those that are vicious themselues, so his father chid him often for his leud and proud carriage, which made him very quarrelsome and cruell, but the people excused all this, saying, it was better for him to passe the nights in feasting, and the day in the theaters, than to languish with solitary discontent in sad watchings and bad cogitations.

Aselgestatos cai omotatos. Dio.

Solus & nullis voluptatibus avocatus mustam vigilantiam & malas curas exercet. Ta.

Negotia pro solatijs. Ta.

Tiberius

Tiberius his teares being ſoone dried, he reſorts vnto the Senate, to ſeeke for conſolation in his affaires; and ſeeing the Senatours ſitting below, cauſed them to come vp, putting them in minde of the reuerence of the place, and of the dignity of their Offices, vſing theſe words to comfort their ſpirits for the griefe they ſuſtained,

The Conſuls did ſit on high in their ſeates, and the Senators below, and after them the Prætors and the Tribunes.

Fathers conſcript, you may blame me for comming hither in ſo freſh and vndiſgeſted a ſorrow; and I know well, that ſuch as are in heauineſſe cannot endure the light, nor the condolements of their neareſt friends; but as I aſcribe not that vnto feebleneſſe of courage, ſo I deſire to witneſſe vnto you, that I haue not ſought for any greater comfort in my affliction, than the embracements of the Commonweale.

The cuſtome of mourning was not to bouge out of their houſes nor to looke vpon the day. *Vix dies à pleriſque lugentium adſpicitur.* Ta.

He repreſented vnto them alſo, that the extreame age of the Empreſſe tooke from him all hope of further iſſue; that his grand-children were very young, that he had already runne more than halfe the race of his life, and that he therefore prayed them to call in *Germanicus* his children; the onely remedy and conſolation for thoſe euils which now afflicted them. Then ſent they for *Nero* and *Druſus*. The Conſuls went out of the Senate to receiue them, and after they had ſaid ſomething vnto them to giue them aſſurance, they conducted them before the Emperor; who taking them by the hands ſaid, *My friends, when theſe children loſt their father, I ſent them vnto my ſonne* Druſus *their coſen, and intreated him although he had children himſelfe, to haue as much care of them as of his owne bloud, to bring them vp and conſerue them for himſelfe and poſterity. But now that* Druſus *is ſnatched away*

Germanici libari unica præſentium malorum levamenta. Ta.

Egreſſi Conſules firmatos allequio adoleſcentibus deductoſq; ante Cæſarem ſtatuum. Ta.

from them, I adresse my prayers vnto you, and coniure you before the Gods and our countrey, that in doing that which is my duty and yours, you will take the care and conduct of the Nephewes of Augustus, *which are descended from famous and illustrous persons.* And then casting his eyes vpon the little ones, he said, *My deare* Nero *and you* Drusus, *these Lords you see here are your fathers: the condition of your birth is such, that the Commonweale hath intrest both in the good and euill which you doe.* The Senate made no answere but by their teares, their vowes, and prayers: and this discourse had beene much more for the honour of *Tiberius*, if he had not added hereunto the very same promises wherewith he had so often deluded them, that he would restore *Rome* to her former liberty, and leaue the gouernment either to the Consuls or to some others. These last words were so farre from the intention of him that vttered them, and the beliefe of the hearers, that they tooke from the fromer all the beliefe which truth and honesty might haue giuen them.

Vana & irrisa vero & honesto fidem adimunt. Ta.

All this was but meere iugling, for this bad Prince thought of nothing more than how vtterly to ruine *Germanicus* his house, which *Drusus* his death began againe to bring into credit. They performed his funeralls after the same order that those of *Germanicus* were, and many other magnificences were added thereunto, for the last flatteries are alwaies the most liberall. *Tiberius* himselfe made the funerall Oration as *Augustus* made that of *Agrippa* his sonne in law.

Addit semper aliud posterior adulatio Ta.

There was a vaile laid betwixt the dead and him, because he should not see the body, for the high Priest was a sacred thing it was not permitted him to looke vpon

vpon any mournfull obiect ; the very Statues of the Gods were couered or transported from those places where any punishment was inflicted ; and *Claudius* caused the Statue of *Augustus* to bee taken away from the Theatre of the gladiatours because it should not be present at the murthers, or it was alwayes vailed ; euery one wept for him who wept not himselfe at all, for that obiect so sad and feeling had not the power to soften his gratuity, obseruing without any preturbation the people who bewayled his losse, whereof himselfe had no feeling.

So *Philo* reporteth that the high Priest of the Iewes alwayes to keepe his soule pure, neuer saw any mournfull thing.

Flente populo non flegit vultum Sen.

Seianus who stood by him admired his constancy, but made no vse of it, for this did notably shew of what temper this princes heart was ; carrying the losse of so deare a person so patiently : did he thinke that this Prince who had so little relentment of the death of his sonne, would care for that of his seruants ; hee should haue beene more subtill to haue knowne the humour of his master, who made vse of him as of a cloake or gabardaine in foule weather, to throw it away when it was past. *Seianus* dreamed of nothing but to ruine the house of *Germanicus*, and that accomplished, *Tiberius* will ruine him ; for then he will haue no more imployment for him, he serues his turne with him now as with a good horse, when the horseman findes him ready he spures forward, and makes him goe where he pleaseth, and in the end kills him.

Seiano ad latus stanti experiendum si dedit quam patienter posset suos perdere. Sen.

This mighty power of *Seianus* was not solely managed by violence, auarice must haue her part, and made him thinke all which he acquired, not to be lost. *Dion* saith, that he was heire to all them that died without children ; this iniust cupiditie wrought the death

Quicquid non acquiritur damnum est, Sen.

of *Lepida* a noble Romane dame; and *Suetonius* hauing declared how he procured the death of *Lentulus* the Augure, that he might haue no heire but him, hee addes the pursuite he made against *Lepida* to be for no other cause, but to gratifie *Quirinus* her husband a very wealthy man and without children.

In gratiam Quirini consularis pradivitis & orbi. Ta.

The proceeding reported by *Tacitus* is strange, she kept not company with her husband for the space of twenty yeares when he accused her of adultery poysoning and faining her selfe to haue a child: *Tiberius* said she consulted with the *Chaldeans* against his person and his house; he would not haue *Drusus* deliuer his mind first in her iudgement, to the end they may freely deliuer their opinions and not to compell them to follow him.

Euemit Drusum dicenda primo loco sententia, ne cæteris assentiendi necessitas fieret. Ta.

There were playes to bee shewen during the processe, *Lepida* did accompany the chiefest and most illustrious dames of the Citie, enioying the priuiledge of the Romans, who were not imprisoned during their accusation, nor after iudgement, if it were not capitall. Entring the Theatre of *Pompey* she turned her eyes towards his images which were there in diuers places, and implored his succour, from whom she was descended. This was with dolefull lamentation and abundance of teares, which moued the people and principally the women to compassion, and to powre forth reproaches against *Quirinus*, calling him an vnworthy man, to deale so cruelly with a woman who hauing beene promised to *L. Cæsar Augustus* his sonne, did him a great deale of honour to marry him, as if they would faine say vnto the good man, that because hee was old, had no children, and of a low degree his wife

Amm. Marcellinus Rankes the Theater of Pompey *inter decora vrbis æterna. Adstantes effusi in lacrimas sæua & deseflanda Quirino clamitant.*

Liuia cui semper Æmiliorum decus L. Sulla, ac Cn. Pompeius præoccupauit. Ta.

wife had cauſe to make him carry the hornes.

The proceſſe being prepared, their opinions inclined to commiſeration of a woman of a great houſe, liuing twenty yeares aſunder from her husband, and the accuſations againſt her were proued but by ſlaues. But *Rubellius Blandus* concluded with baniſhment, *Druſus* was of his opinion, and reduced thoſe which proceeded not with that rigor. A Prince ſhould not be the firſt nor the laſt to deliuer his opinion, he is to conclude and determine. Theſe words were brauely ſpoken by *Piſo* vnto *Tiberius* in the beginning of his rigor: Cæſar *where will you place your ſelfe in deliuering your cenſure, if firſt, I am bound to follow you; if laſt, peraduenture what I thinke you will not; and ſo I may vnwittingly commit a great error.*

Adſenſit Druſus quamvis alij mitiores. Ta.

Quo loco cenſebus Cæſar, ſi primus habebo quod ſequar: ſi poſt omnes verear ne impudens diſſentiam. Ta.

Dion obſerues an other way to come by the inheritance of a rich man. *Sextus Marius* had a daughter yong and faire, *Tiberius* ſollicits her, her father retired her to his countrey houſe, to cauſe her to returne, they accuſed her of inceſt, the daughter ſpeakes theſe words vnto her father: *Let vs not giue them the contentment to diſpoſe of you and me at their pleaſure, and to bring vs to that paſſe, that it ſhall not be permitted vs to die honeſtly; I was not accuſtomed to make my prayers vnto any but the Gods, I will not be beholding for my life vnto* Seianus *with the loſſe of that which is dearer to me than a thouſand liues.* *Marius* aſhamed that his courage ſhould haue need of the example of his daughter, killed himſelfe firſt, and ſhe followed him.

To ſquriue honour is to liue too long.

This death was very profitable to *Tiberius* and *Seianus*, for they were heires to *Marius*, a man ſo rich that being offended with a neighbor of his, inuited him

The ſame hand that doth the iniury repaires it.

to his houſe and made him good cheare for two dayes ſpace, the firſt day he raſed downe his houſe, the ſecond he rebuilt it fairer and larger; the maſter of the houſe returning the third day was aſtoniſhed at the alteration: *Marius* then ſaid vnto him, the one I haue done to reuenge my ſelfe as your enemy, and the other as your friend for the good I wiſh you.

Delatores genus hominum publico exitio repertum eſt pœnis quidem nunquam ſatis coercitum per præmia eliciebantur. Ta.

There was no ſafety in *Rome*, but for ſlanderers a pernitious kinde of people; whom diſorder hath brought in credit to ſpoile and ruine all, who were ſo ſupported that not onely their calumny remained vnpuniſhed, but recompenced; the more firme and ſtiffe they were to vphold falſehood and to braue the innocent the more they were gratified, it being no more lawfull to offend them, than things holy and ſacred; others whoſe conſciences would not ſuffer them to bee obſtinate againſt the truth, were vnregarded and puniſhed.

Vt quis deſtrictior accuſator velut ſacro ſanctus erat leves ignobiles pœnis afficiebantur. Ta.

Vibius Serus Proconſull of the lower *Spaine*, was accuſed by his ſonne to haue conſpired againſt the Emperour, and to haue ſent ſome among the Gaules to ſtirre and mooue the people. He appeared couered with the duſt and mire which he gathered in his iourney, for he was newly returned from exile; and though he ſaw his life in danger, yet he carried a bold courage before his Iudges, and with eyes ſparkling with indignation and threats he looked vpon his ſonne, who was there braue and well accowtred, ſtamping with his feet for anger, and ratling of his irons and chaines; for hee was conducted by the ſouldiers that had him in guard, he lifted vp his hand towards heauen, and prayed the Gods to ſend him back into the place from whence he

Miſericordiæ ac ſævitiæ exemplum reus pater accuſator filius Tacit.

Multis mundi-tiis adoleſcenti, alacri vultuque facie.

he came, and punish the ingratitude and impietie of his sonne. Nature so outragiously offended, permitted him these imprecations, and would not suffer him to shew himselfe a father towards this wretch, who had reuolted from his dutie. A father ought to content himselfe with a slight punishment, but this disloyalty was so strange that it wrested from his heart this praier vnto the Gods for his chastizement, euery where that we finde monsters we stifle them, not asking from whence they come, we nourish the birds which come from Forrests, but wee kill the scorpions which are bred in our houses.

Whatsoeuer the sonne doth, the father should not strip himselfe of the office of a father, to put on that of a iudge. *Pro peccato magno paululum supplicij satis è patri.*

This his so setled countenance imprinted in the minde of the iudges an opinion of the innocency of the father, and made them deforme the malice of the sonne; who affrighted with the remorse of conscience, the noise of the people which threatned him with imprisonment, the hurling of stones, and the punishment of Parracides, fled to *Rauena*, from whence *Tiberius* made him to returne, constraining him to pursue his accusation, for he would in any wise be rid of *Seruus*, keeping still in minde the hatred he bore him for a letter which he had written vnto him eight yeares before, in more arrogant tearmes then by proud eares and tender to be offended could be well brooked. The Senators gaue their opinions hereupon, *Gallus Asinius* was of opinion that hee should bee banished into the Isles of *Gaire* or *Donuse*, which was not found fitting because there was no water neither in the one nor the other, and that it was reasonable they should giue meanes to liue, vnto such as they had giuen life vnto. O cruell pittie! hee desired that the commodities

In silius ortas vinculus pascitus & dominatos scorpiones occiditis. Petr.

Exequi accusatione edigitur. Ta.

Haud tutum contumacius loqui apud aures superbas & offensionis primores. Ta.

Dandi vitæ usus cui vita concedi-tur. Ta.

of

of life ſhould ſerue for the lengthning out and entertainment of the miſeries of paine.

It was lawfull for the moſt wicked to aſſault and wrong the honeſteſt men, to ſpeake iniuriouſly of them and to offer them affronts; nor durſt maſters reprehend their ſeruants or correct them. There was no exceſſe but might be excuſed for ſuch as could couer it with the image of *Cæſar*. The ſame franchiſe which gaue aſſurance to the criminall, gaue aſſurance alſo, and occaſion to commit the crime. The great reſpect which men bore vnto *Tiberius* was in other places then at *Rome*, where his Statues were as venerable as theſe of *Iupiter Olimpus*, in ſuch ſort as the maſter was condemned of impietie becauſe he hath ſtruck his ſeruant, carrying about him a peece of mony whereon the image of *Cæſar* was ingraued.

Religion hath giuen vnto the Temple of the Gods freedome and flattery to the Statues of Princes, this cuſtome was put in practiſe in *Rome* ſince *Iulius Cæſars* time. *Capitali circa Auguſti ſimulacrum Seruum cæcidiſſe.* Suet.

Amia Ruſilla was condemned of falſhood by the Senate at the purſuit of *Ceſtius*. Enraged herewith ſhe ſtayed for him at the entry of the Pallace, neare vnto *Tiberius* his Statue, from whence as from a place of curſing, ſhe aſſaulted him with all manner of raylings and bitter ſpeeches, which are the weapons of feeble ſpirits. *Ceſtius* durſt not demand reparation becauſe ſhe had wronged him, vnder the fauour and neere vnto the image of *Tiberius*, he made complaint hereof, and ſpake in the open Senate theſe memorable words: *Princes hold the places of Gods, but the Gods hearken onely to the iuſt prayers of their ſuppliants, there is none that will runne to the Capitall nor vnto the other Temples of the Citie, as to a place of refuge, there to commit any crime. But the lawes are now aboliſhed and ouerthrowne from the very foundation; ſeeing that euen in the*

The place were *Theſeus* curſed the Athenians in the bourge of *Gargetus* was called *Arateria* a place of malediction. *Plut.* *Principes inſtar deorum ſunt ſed nequaquam dijs miſi iuſtæ ſupplicum preces audiuntur.* Ta.

the publique places, and at the very entry of the Pallace we are constrained to beare iniuries, and to heare threatnings without any hope at all to be righted, for the respect which is had vnto the Emperours Statue.

Non licet inexperiri ob effigiem imperatoriam oppositam. Ta.

If the History should haue mentioned nothing also but this, to represent vnto vs the estate of the miserable reigne of *Tiberius*, it would haue beene enough to discouer vnto vs the violence and disorder thereof; wretched was then the condition of a Romane citizen, there was danger either to speake, or to behold his Peere; thoughts onely were free from tribute and danger, prouided that their countenance did not make any shew either of ioy for *Agrippina*, or of discontent against *Seianus*. The absolute power he had ouer the goods of the Romanes, made some say that it was a good thing to dwell at *Rome*, and to haue their estate lying out of the bounds of the Empire.

Crimen ex silentia ex voce. Tac.

Vacia a rich man, and who had beene Pretor, withdrew himselfe to his country house, finding no other defence against the violence of the time, than a solitary life. It was a hard thing in those times for men to resolue themselues, for they beleeued that he who did it of his owne instigation, did either differ so much from nature, that either he did set himselfe aboue her, with the Gods, or vnder her with the beasts: as often as the friendship of *Asinius Gallus*, *Agrippinaes* kinsman or the hatred of *Seianus* had ruined some one, the people of those times would cry out, O Vacia *there is none but thee that can tell how to liue.*

Vacio nulla res alis quam otio notus conseruit, & ob hoc vnus felix habebatur. Sen.

O Vacia solus sis vivere.

The solitary life was the most assured, the ciuill more perillous, and the country more pleasing, and indeed she is the mistresse of sparing, of diligence, of iustice

Vita rustica parcimoniæ iustitiæ at diligentiæ magistra. Cic.

ſtice and ſimplicity; it hath not beene accompanied with honour, or yeelded ſuch content as in former times, when great Captaines went from their triumphs to the plough, from their tillage to armes, and from their farmes to the Senate; the ground tooke delight in thoſe dayes to yeeld fruit in abundance, and to acknowledge the labour of thoſe victorious hands which manured it with a coulter crowned with lawrell.

Attilâ manus ruſticæ opere attritæ ſalutem publicam ſtabiliérunt. Val. *Gaudebat tellus vomere laureato.* Plin.

Seianus this torrent of pride and inſolence ouerflowes: there is none now that ſtayes it, all that might keepe it in is caſt downe. *Tiberius* is blamed to ſubmit the fortune of the Empire to the diſcretion of one man alone, and his will to the honour of his groome.

It is not ſafe to commit ſo many and ſo great offices into the fortune of one alone.

Ambition is often gogle eyed when ſhe hath need of a cleare ſight and is aſtray when ſhee thinkes to goe right: *Seianus* is loſt by her, his deſignes fall out otherwiſe then he expected, he beleeued, *Germanicus* being dead that *Drusus* was the onely block that lay in his way, he takes him away by poyſon, and now behold the ſucceſſion remaines without any doubt to the children of *Germanicus*, to aſſure his tyranny he muſt deſtroy them, he vndertooke it the more boldly becauſe his former wickednesſe hath had happy ſucceſſe, and that the father was careleſſe to reuenge the death of his ſonne.

Wicked interpriſes worke the ruine of the vndertakers.

Perox ſcelerum quia prima proſperunt Ta.

Hee imprints in him a beleefe that his enemies would make their profit of this loſſe, that *Agrippina* is reſolued to reigne; there needed no art to perſwade him, he ſees the ſucceſſion apparent, and this woman ready to bite at the apple, he is reſolued to cut off the mother and the yong ones; *Seianus* findes himſelfe much perplexed, for to corrupt *Agrippina* as he did

Non dubia Germanici liberorum ſucceſſio. Ta.

Livia there was no possibility, she was of an invincible and vndaunted chastity, it was impossible to poison them all three at once, and surely very difficult; so great was the fidelity and vigilancy of their seruants; besides they could not deale with this Princesse or with other women, all the towne is for her. The most bold and shamelest slander dares not take hold of her, she marched vpright betweene the ielousie of *Tiberius*, and the ambition of *Seianus*; who found no nearer way to ruine her then to animate the Emror against her, by causing him to apprehend both her courage and her hopes, he lost no time in this, and encountred a little after with a fit occasion to produce this bad designe. They did vse to sacrifice in the beginning of the yeare, an Oxe with golden hornes to *Iupiter*, for the welfare of the Prince, which was the welfare of the commonwealth. The high Priests, and by their example the rest, recommended vnto the same Gods both *Nero* and *Drusus*, not so much for the loue of them as to flatter *Tiberius*, and to make shew they desired that the Empire should continue in his house: mens manners were then so depraued, that it was no more dangerous to flatter too much, then not to flatter at all.

Spargi venenum in tres non poterat egregia custodem fide & pudicitia Aggrippinæ impenitrabili. Ta.

Adulatio moribus corruptis perinde anceps si nulla & ubi nimia est. Ta.

Tiberius was vexed to see those youths goe cheeke by ioule with his age, and asked the high Priests, if they had done this by the entreaties or threats of *Agrippina*; and they answering no, he checkt them, but gently, for they were for the most part either of kin to *Agrippina*, or the chiefe of the Citie. He went of purpose to the Senate about this businesse, and made vnto them a cunning speech there, to shew vnto them,

Primores modice perstringendi. Ta.

Mobiles adolescentium animi præmaturis honoribus ad superbiam non extollendi. Ta.

that from thence forwards the feeble and inconstant spirits of young folkes were not to be spurred on vnto pride by those honours which were giuen them before their time.

Seianus made more adoe with this then *Tiberius*, saying that all was going to wrack; seing they made no difference betweene the Prince and his kinsemen, that the Citie of *Rome* was deuided as in the ciuill warres when she had three Lords, *Caesar*, *Pompey*, and *Crastus*; that the authority of the Emperor was the weakest, that *Agrippinaes* party was already formed, and that vnlesse resistance were made, the number would grow greater, that there was no better remedy for the discord which began to gather head and grow vp, than by a sudden cutting off of one or two of them.

Falla tribus dominis communis Roma. Lucan

Nullum aliud discentes discordiae remedium quam unus alterium maxime prompti subvertantur. Ta.

He threatned but two, and meant to strike many, but he beleeued that those *Silius* and *Sabinus* would be throwne from that height, that the rest should apprehend their fall; their generous affection towards the house of *Germanicus*, did not degenerate from the nature of true friendship, although to them it was not onely barren, but vnfortunate; *Varro* a Consul villanously accommodating his conscience and honour to the passion of *Seianus* accused C. *Silius*, and *Sosia* his wife. T. *Sabinus* was reserued for another time; and although they represented this pursuit to be violent, and that *Varro* should expect vntill he were out of his Consulship, yet they made their processe of a crime of maiestie, although they were accused but to haue conuerted the publique treasure of the common wealth to their owne vse, and that there was no man which demaunded restitution: but *Tiberius* was so subtill, that he

Amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique. Ta. *Turpe alijs gratificari per dedecus proprium.* Ta.

he gaue the lighteſt faults the names of moſt odious crimes. *Silius* ſeeing that, made no defence, and if he did ſpeake, it was but to declare that the purſuite was too puiſſant: and foreſeeing that there was no poſſibility to ſcape, his courage aduiſed him to preuent an vncuitable death by a voluntary, *Soſia* was baniſhed.

Proprium Tiberio ſcelera nuper reperta priſcis verbis obtexere. Ta.

Eminens damnatio voluntario fuit præuertitur. Tac.

His imprudency and vanity did aſſiſt his ruine, he ceaſed not to vaunt that *Tiberius* was obliged to him for the Empire, and that if the Legion which he commanded in *Almaine* were reuolted as the reſt, hee could not hold it any long time, this reproach did pricke to the quicke the minde of *Tiberius*, for he did ouerthrow all his fortunes, giuing him no ſhare in the proſperity of affaires, and made it knowne it was not in his power to acquit himſelfe of this obligation. When the ſeruice is ſo great that it cannot be acknowledged, Princes accompt it an offence, hate holds the place of recompence and affronts of thankes.

Clytus loſt himſelfe to haue ſaid that *Alexander* held his life of the Macedonians. *Plut.*

It is more ſafe to be obliged to the Maſter, then to oblige him and ſeruice that cannot be recompenced makes the ſeruant importunate.

Beneficia eo uſque læta ſunt dum videntur ſolui poſſe, vbi multum ultra venere pro gratia odium redditur. Tac.

Amongſt all this *Scianus* ſees himſelfe ſo eloigned from his hopes that he redoubles his courſe to arriue vnto them, and by an auengled improuidence diſcouers them to *Tiberius*; it is true that he was compelled by the ordinary exclamations of *Liuia*, who ceaſeth not to ſummon him with his promiſe of legitimating their loues, and change the name of Miſtreſſe into that of wife, *Scianus* giues her words for deeds; ſhe is angry, he appeaſeth her; ſhe weepes, he flatters her; and although reaſon did perſwade her as Nurſes doe their children, *Weepe not, you ſhall haue it*, yet her patience is quite

Reaſon ſhould ſay vnto Choller that which the Nurſe ſaith to her Childe, *Weepe not, and you ſhall haue it.* Plut.

spent, his heart is like a mine which bursts out with so much the more ruine and noise by how much the more it is stopt vp and constrained, he suffers himselfe to be carryed away with the ambition of this woman, who hoped to espouse with her husband the title of *Augustus*, and to giue her contentment discouers his designe to the Emperour; beseeching him to agree to this mariage: he presents vnto him his request, and notwithstanding the high fauour he was in, hee brake not the order of treating with the Prince, no other wise but by writing.

Seianus nimia fortuna secors & muliebre cupidine incensus. Ta.

Cæsar brought in this custome, to the end hee may haue time to consider of that which was demanded; and what answere to returne, and to make the expedition of his affaires more commodious: for the affluence was so great, the towne of such extent, that it was impossible immediatly to satisfie all *Augustus* did write, all his answeres, because he may not speake more or lesse then that he thought off.

Sermones libello habuit ne plus minasq; loqueretur. Ta.

The contents of his request being so hardy, he did not tremble in presenting it; a timorous suppliant is more boldly denyed. To intreate remissly or carelessly, is to doubt either of the merit of the request, or of the power of him whom we request; he frames a complaint of gratitude and remembrance, for an expert courtier should neuer begin with his demand and addes an impious flattery, saying that he gaue this order of speaking of his affaires sooner to his mistresse then to the Gods. It was in these tearmes: *The good which* Augustus *wished me, and that which you haue done me,* Cæsar *in many occasions oblige me not to send forth my prayes and vowes sooner to the eares of the Gods then*

Qui timidè rogat negare docet.

Spes & vota non primum ad principium aures quam ad deos. Ta.

then to yours. It is to tell you that although I did neuer affect this glittering shewe of honours, and that all my ambition was but to watch and labour as a simple souldier for your safety and prosperity. I haue notwithstanding this contentment which I prize aboue all others; that I was already deemed worthy of the alliance of Cæsars *by the mariage of my daughter with the son of* Claudius: *it is the foundation of my hope, and because I haue heard say, that* Augustus *proposing to giue a husband vnto his daughter, had a thought to haue made election of a Romane Knight; my supplication vnto you is, that if you seeke for a husband for* Livia *the widow of your sonne, you may be pleased to remember him whom you haue alwayes loued, and who in that has no other designe than the glory of your alliance, without laying aside the offices wherewith you haue honoured me; it sufficeth me that my house may haue a proppe against the enmitie of* Agrippina, *and that which I doe is but for the loue of my children, for mine owne part I make no reckoning of my life any longer then I may wholely imploy it in the seruice of such a Prince.*

Qui excubias & labore ut unus militum proincolumitate principis mauult haud unquam honorum felgerem precatur. Ta.

Augustus in collocanda filia nonnihil de Romanis equitibus consultauit. Ta.

Satis vixit qui vitam cum principe expleuit.

Tiberius hauing praised the zeale of *Seianus* and in few words put him in minde of the fauour hee had extended towards him, added, that the businesse would craue some time to giue a deliberate answere, and spake in this manner, *The interprizes of common men do ordinarily aime at profit, but the condition of princes is farre otherwise; for they ought to referre the principall of their actions and designes vnto reputation and honour; wherefore I will not make answere vnto this request so soone as I might do it:* Liuia *may of her self resolue whether she were best to marry againe, or continue still in my*

Tempus ad integram consultationem necessarium. Ta.

Præcipua rerum ad famam dirigendo. Ta.

sonne

Matri & Aviæ propriora consilia. Ta.

sonne Drusus *his house, she hath more Councellors then my selfe, her grand-mother, and mother, and for my selfe, I will freely giue thee mine aduice concerning the rest, first touching the malice of* Agrippina, *without all doubt this will the more ardently inflame it, when shee shall see the mariage of* Livia *deuide the hearts of the* Cæsars *into diuerse parties. Hence wee shall see and heare the noise and strife of womens iealousies, and through their discord my Nephewes shall enter into quarrelling and what a case were it if this alliance should procure a broile.*

Quid sit intendatur certamen.

What will it be if they accuse you.

Thou deceiuest thy selfe *Seianus* if thou thinkest to be able to remaine still in the same estate, or that *Livia* is of such a humour as to wax old with a Romane Knight, hauing married *Cæsar* and after him *Drusus*, and though I should consent thereunto, thinkest thou that such as haue seene her brother, her father, and our grand-fathers possessed of the soueraigne dignities, would endure that I should suffer it. Thou resoluest to liue in the state in which thou art, but the Magistrates and the chiefe of the State, who against their will come to visit thee, and demand this aduice in all things, know that thou art not to stay there, that thou hast raised thy selfe aboue the quality of a Knight, and that I haue outstripped the teares of the affection my father bore thee: they publiquely dissembled this, but in priuate they blame my affection, for the enuy they beare thee. Thou sayest that *Augustus* had purposed to giue his daughter to a Romane Knight, and verily it is a marueile, hauing a spirit so wrathfull ouer all, and hauing foreseene to what a degree of power he might mount him, whom he should by this alliance raise so high a-

Vix eum equite Romano senescit quis nupsit Cæsari. Ta.

There is not any desire so well ordered but will embrace occasion.

Excessit equestre fastigium Seianus. Ta.

Augusti animus in omnes curas distrahitur. Ta.

boue

boue all others: he ſpake of *Caius Proculeius*, and of ſome others, which were of a notable tranquilitie of ſpirit, and which no way medled with any affaires of the commonwealth. And if we be aſtoniſhed at this his reſolution, how much more ought we ſo to be for marrying his daughter to *Agrippa*.

Inſignis vbi tranquillitas nullis R. P. negotijs permixta. Ta.

This is that which my friendſhip will not let mee keepe from thee, and therefore I doe aſſure you, that I will neuer croſſe theſe deſignes, nor thoſe of *Livia*. I wil not now tell thee what I am reſolued to doe, before the yeere come about, and with what alliance I purpoſe to ioyne thee vnto me; I will onely tell thee this, that there is nothing ſo eminent whereunto thy vertue and the alliance thou beareſt vnto me, may not raiſe this; & when any occaſion of ſpeaking hereof, either to the Senate or people ſhall preſent it ſelfe I will not be ſilent.

Nihil tam excelſum quod non meremur virtutes. Ta.

But *Seianus* had greater aſſurance in the thoughts of *Tiberius* than in his words, his minde was franticke with this ambition, he was no more capable of reaſon, he had much adoe to come thus farre; there is no way to paſſe further, the aſcent was very difficult, ſlippery and ſtubborne, and being come to the height he ſhall finde but ſhiuering, and will behold round about him but a fearefull downe-fall.

In the commerce of laue and ambition, reaſon is a coyne which paſſeth not for curant.

Tiberius vnwilling he ſhould periſh, ſhewed him how he did but runne headlong vnto his deſtruction, and did rectifie him: whoſoeuer ſhewes vs the place where we firſt began to faile, obligeth no leſſe then he who ſhewes vs which way we ſhould go; he giues him to vnderſtand that this mariage will be an originall of perpetuall diſcord in the houſe of the *Cæſars*, and that the very ſame things which ſerue as a ciment amongſt

Vincula charitatis apud concordes, ſunt incitamenta irarum apud infenſos Ta.

persons which are at agreement, doe forme hatred in the mindes of such as are already at iarre.

But *Seianus* was not so much in paine about the successe of his mariage, as with the suspitions which began to engender in the fantasie of *Tiberius* against that great and powerfull authoritie which hee had vsurped in all affaires, which in short time causeth confidence to degenerate into feare, affection into iealousie, and liberty into necessitie.

Præcipuum incidiũ magni principis magni liberti. Ta.

In cuiuscunque animo virtus sit, ei plurimum tribuendum. Vell.

To haue two great subiects is no good signe of the Princes owne greatnesse, and yet notwithstanding it is the true property of great Princes to raise merit and recompence seruices, for whersoeuer vertue is found, it will be honoured; it considers more the person then the country, industry more then birth; of all times *Rome* hath seene new men raised to great honours; *T. Cornucanus* High Priest, *Sp. Carvius* Consul, *Ma. Cato* Censor, *Municus Thriumphius* and *Marcus* six times Consul.

Consecratus est vnicus sentiens se Euthymius nihilque adeo mirum aliud quam hoc placuisse dijs. Plin.

It is madnesse for a man to oppose himselfe against the will of the Prince, when he saith I will haue it, he renders reason enough of his actions; men wondred to see *Euthimius* to be placed amongst the number of the Gods before his death, and that in his life time he was sacrificed vnto, but they were satisfied with this only reason, *Iupiter* would haue it so.

Interest reipublicæ quod vsu necessarium, & dignitate eminere utilitatemque authoritate inimica. Vell.

To take from the Prince the power to raise the meane conditioned, and abasing the great ones, this is to snatch the Scepter out of his hand, to make his power but a shadow, and to quench the liuely light of maiestie. The State hath intreſt, that liberality should acknowledge merit, and fauour should sustaine seruices,

nices, the condition of a Prince ſhould be very hard, if amongſt ſo great a number of ſeruants he might not choſe ſome one worthy of a more entire confidence, according the happineſſe of the election, or the force of the merit.

Dubium an fato principum inclinatio in hos, offenſio in illos, an ſit aliquid in noſtris conſiliis. Ta.

It is no matter if this fauour procure the iealouſie of great ones, the enuy of equalls, or the hatred of inferiors, ſo it trouble not the order of affaires, that particular intreſt ſwallow not vp the publique; for when this ſhall come to paſſe, and that to enrich a few of theſe fauourites the State is impoueriſhed and all put in diſorder, the Prince which ſo indiſcretly diſtributeth his fauour, is diſpiſed as hauing neither iudgement, nor iuſtice in his elections, and the fouonrite findes by experience that there is no greater puniſhment than the publique hatred.

Vt paucis illuſtrentur mundus euertitur unius bonor orbis excidium eſt. Sal.

Multum grauius ſupplicium odio publico. Sen.

If it pleaſe the Prince he may caſt him downe as low as he hath exalted him, and there needs but a blaſt to lay flat ſuch powers as are not ſuſtained by their owne forces; *Tiberius* was ſomewhat ſtartled at this great power of *Seianus*: but the good will which all the people beare to the houſe of *Germanicus* doth more afflict him, and *Seianus* who ſees his imagination perplexed therewithall repreſents the perill vnto him to be more then it is, and reuiues in the heart of the Empreſſe the ancient rancor ſhe bore againſt *Agrippina*, this remembrance driues her into choler, and this anger that is the nerue which giues the ſuddaineſt motion vnto the ſoule, makes her thinke, ſhe ſhall neuer be any thing ſo long as her enemy is ſomething.

Fluxa fama potentiæ non ſuis viribus niſa. Ta.

Choler is ordained as companion to reaſon, and *Baſile* calls it the nerue of the ſoule.

To make this apprehenſion penetrat the deeper into her minde, he employes *Mutilia Priſca* her confi-

dent, and to gaine her he practizeth with *Iul. Posthumus*, who made loue vnto her; the Empresse was presently moued with *Agrippinaes* hopes, and her feare not onely of taking place beneath her, but of being equalled with her, furnished her with deuices enough to make her yet more odious vnto *Tiberius* then she was before. Moreouer *Seianus* had some suborned persons that entertained *Agrippina* with vanities and infused into her minde the sweet hopes of Gouernment, and as pleasing things doe more easily enter into womens beleife, she sought for accusations the more freely to administer iealousie vnto *Tiberius* and contentment to the people.

Regibus aequa ne dum infirmia insolita sunt. Ta.

Facilis fœminarum credulitas ad gaudium. Ta.

But as that age was so corrupted, that it was then a vertue to doe no euill, and pietie not to be impious. *Tiberius* resolued to doe no good to *Agrippina*, feared notwithstanding to be blamed for impietie and ingratitude, if he did her any ill, whereupon his indignation not dareing to ayme directly at her, he first set vpon her friends and kindred: *Claudia Pulchra* her cosen, was accused of adultery with *Furmus*, and of charmes, and poyson against *Tiberius*.

Tiberij seculo magna pietas fuit nihil impie facere. Sen.

Domitius Afer who at any price would make his fortune, was the accuser, he was one of that number which *Seianus* entertained, and serued him as a petty instrument to stirre and moue great workes withall: vpon this accusation *Agrippina* inflamed with choler, as well for the iniury as for the perill of her cosen, came to see *Tiberius*, and finding him offering a sacrifice vnto her father, she said,

Domitius Afer quoque crimine clarescere properans. Ta.

You should not thus imolate your sacrifices mo Augustus, *and persecute his posterity, the spirit of that great*

Prince

Prince is not in his dumbe ſtatues, but his true image which is borne of his celeſtiall bloud, vnderſtands well the difference by the bad vſage which is offered her, being reduced to the miſerable ſtate of one accuſed; there is nothing intended to Pulchra, *it is to me: I am ſole cauſe of her ruine, ſhe hath committed no other offence, but that ſhee made no ſhew of affection but to the ſeruice of* Agrippina, *and that improuidently; for ſhee ſhould call to minde that* Sofia Galla *was baniſhed for that cauſe.*

Non in effigiei mutas diuinus ſpiritus infuſus. Ta.

Pulchræ ſolæ exitij cauſa quòd Agrippinam ſtultè prorſus ad cultum delegerit. Ta.

This diſcourſe did ſo incenſe *Tiberius*, that hauing loſt his diſſimulation, he brought from the bottome of his heart a bitter ſpeech, and ſtrange to his humour which was neuer accuſtomed to be ſo forward; for after telling her that ſhe ſhould moderate her paſſion, he added a Greeke verſe, importing thus much,

Thou beleeueſt daughter, that thou haſt wrong done thee, if thou commandſt not.

If *Agrippina* did vnderſtand the Greeke tongue this ſpeech paſſed not without a reply, and it is certaine that Princes of her ranke were learned; *Agrippina* her daughter compoſed a hiſtory, *Auguſtus* commended the wit of this *Agrippina*, who remained for a ſufficient time in *Athens*, and in other Cities of Greece with her husband *Germanicus*, to vnderſtand ſome words.

Auguſtus quadam epiſtola Agrippinæ neptis ingenium collaudauit & ſcripta. Suet.

And it is without doubt that this ſpeech pricked to the quick her ambition, and giuing fire to her choler, ſhe could not refraine from ſpeaking theſe words immediatly or in retiring, *Behold we are well ſeeing the hopes of a woman bring iealouſie to* Tiberius, *and feare to* Seianus; *if I haue any ambition it is not for my ſelfe,*

my ſexe wrongs my courage. If I haue a deſire to raign, it is but in my Children? where doe they finde that I ſhould loue them leſſe then I doe? I haue part in that which the heauens reſerue for them, and I will that they know, that if I affected not their greatneſſe, I ſhould not be a mother. Let him call me fierce, proud, impatient, as much as he will, I cannot be otherwiſe againſt this hare-brained man, whom he names his companion, and would be ſo with my children, who is allied to the Claudians, *placeth his Statues amongſt them of the* Cæſars, *puls downe thoſe of* Pompey, *who carries his authority aboue that of the Senate, who cauſed my Husbands death, perſecutes my kindred and friends; yes, I am angry that I doe not command, for I would be aſhamed to command ſo vniuſtly and wickedly.*

Mihi nunquam perſuadebunt vt meos amari à me unius vnquã putem. Plin. *Agrippina ſemper Atrox.* Tac. *Pervicax iræ.* Tac. *Æqui impatiens.* Tac.

Weakneſſe and choller doe not well agree together.

But what doe menaces auaile where power is wanting, there is nothing ſo vnfit as to be weake and yet cholericke. That of *Agrippina* did her no good, and aduanced the condemnation of *Furnius* and *Pulchra*. *Domitius* then, who ſhewed himſelfe ſo eloquent in their accuſation, is praiſed by *Tiberius*, and placed in the ranke of the chiefeſt Orators, but with more eſtimation of knowledge how to ſpeake well then do well, extreame old age did much leſſen the reputation of his eloquence, for hauing his ſpirit weary and ſpent, hee could not refraine ſpeaking.

Præferior Afro eloquentiæ quam morum fama. Tac.

It is doubted whether theſe two Lawyers were condemned according to the law of *Iulia*, ordained by *Auguſtus* againſt adultery, for that was too gentle to ſatisfie the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and animoſity of *Seianus*, and more ſhamefully then ſeuere, onely relegating the culpable out of *Rome*.

Relegation was milder then exile. *Namque relegatus tum exulabat.* Ouid.

The

The number moderated the rigour of the paine, for if it had beene capitall, it would haue made whole families desolate. *Seneca* saith, that this excesse was so common in his time, that shamefastnesse was a signe of deformity, to be wise, it behoued not to be faire; there was not a woman so miserable and beggarly, that could be contented with a couple of seruants, who gaue not each one his turne, and vnto whom the longest day seemed not too short. It was ordained that she who had to her Father or Grandfather, or to her Husband a Roman Knight, would not professe her selfe a whore. *Vistilia* issued from a Family, amongst whom there had beene Preters, declared before the Edils, that she would not let her youth passe away in barrennesse, nor her beauty vnknowne: In a word, that she was a Courtizan; this was all the punishment which custome ordained for these disorders, to the end that the shamefull declaration of so miserable and infamous a life might be instead of a paine or penalty. *Tiberius* confined her to the Isle of *Seriphos*. We must beleeue that *Seianus* made him not any whit the more clement towards *Agrippina's* Kinswoman his enemy, for outstripping the seuerity of his Predecessours, he had already caused *Aquilia* to banishment, although the *Consul* had put her but to the penalty of the law of *Iulia*.

Argumentum est deformitatis pudicitia: nunquam inuenies tam miseram tam sordidam vt illi satis sit vnum adulterorum par nisi singulis diuidat horas, & non sufficit dies omnibus. Sen.

Satis panarum aduersum impudicas in ipsa professione flagitij. Tac.

Aquileiam quæ quam Consul lege Iulia damnassat exilio puniuit. Tac.

Agrippina was so incensed to see her kinswoman so vnworthily handled, that shee fell sick thereupon; and after many complementall good wishes of her recouery, her griefe soone brought sighes into the mouth and teares to the eyes of the sick person, and hauing deplored her misery and the ruine of her house, shee besought

besought the Emperor, that to asswage the griefe of her louelinesse, he would be pleased to permit her to marry, her youth not being able to continue in that solitarinesse; there being left no contentment for honest women of such yeares, but mariage; and that it would please him hartily to embrace the protection of *Germanicus* his widow and children.

Non aliud probis quam ex matrimonio solatium. Ta.

The prayer you make (my father) is not that I should be weary of my solitude, that there may bee some thing which would kindle againe my affection; the first is the ashes of *Germanicus*, and will neuer bee reuiued, there is nothing which may content me, there remaines no ouerplus for me; if the Gods had as yet conferred any grace upon me, they must giue mee a new heart to receiue it, for they haue neuer sent mine owne but bitternesse; it can neither containe nor beare delight, I haue need of some one which may comfort not my courage, but may entertaine my patience.

The reason of State is a thwarting of ordinary reason, hauing respect to a reason or benefit more vniuersall.

Reason of State which goes aboue all reasons of ordinary lawes could not consent to this demand, for being a woman equally beloued for her chastitie and fruitfulnesse, she would replenish a house with Grandchildren of *Augustus*, who one day would sue for the succession of the Empire.

A deliberate answere discouers neither offence nor feare. *Ne offensio aut metus prodatur*, Ta. *Prima semper irarum tela maledicta sunt & quod non possumus imbecilli optamus irati* Sallust.

Tiberius considering the preiudice the State might sustaine by this demand, made her no answere at all, that he might neither giue notice of the offence hee tooke, or of his feare, and went coldly away without speaking a word; this silence and coldnesse inflamed *Agrippina* the more, and as the first arrowes of reuenge are bitter words, and what we cannot doe for lack of power, we wish it out of the heat of choler, so she powred

powred forth all she had in her heart; *Seianus* who could take his time considereth all this, and by an officious kind of disloyalty sends word to this Princesse that the smouthering flames of the designes, which *Tiberius* had reserued in his minde against her; were vpon the point to euaporate and breake forth, that he was resolued to poyson her, and that she should take heed of taking any thing at his hand, nor any meat: *Agrippna* who in discretion should haue made no shew of this aduice, for the perill there is to make knowne that we are acquainted with Princes intents, presently drew her heart into her brow, and being one time at Table with *Tiberius* she grew obstinate both in silence and abstinence; when he saw that shee had not tasted of an Apple that he had giuen her with his owne hand, but had giuen it to some that waited at the Table, he turned himselfe towards his mother and rounding her in the eare, said, *It is no marueile if I haue beene somewhat seuere heretofore towards this woman, seeing she takes me for an impoysoner.* Where distrust once begins, there friendship ends; from this instant their mindes became vnreconciliable, and the rumour was spread ouer *Rome*, that *Tiberius* would put *Agrippina* to death, either openly or in secret.

Solum insidiarum remedium si non intelligantur. Ta.

Non mirum si princeps quid soverius statuit à quo veneficij insimulatur. Ta.

Hereupon *Tiberius* vndertakes a voyage to *Naples*, which designe had beene often deliberated, resolued, delayed and broken off. He said it was to dedicate a temple to *Iupiter* at *Capua*, and an other to *Augustus* at *Nola* where he dyed; but he had no other intention then to absent himselfe from the Citie. It is certaine that *Seianus* knowing his humour counselled this his retreate to haue the meanes to gouerne him as hee

Augustus dyed at *Nola*.

Certus procul urbe degere. Ta.

Cum sævitiam ac libidinem factis promeret locis occultabat. Ta.

 listed,

listed, but because he staied there fiue yeares after his death I suppose that he chose out this place to couer the dissolutenesse of his life.

Decrepit old age makes the Prince to be despised, *Dion* speakes it of *Tib.* and *Nerua*. *Dia togeras cataphro nomenon. Adrian* was the first Emperour which let his beard grow to couer the slashes ouer his face.

Some there are that thinke also that it was to couer & hide his old age, which made him contemptible, and to auoide the beholding of his body which was falling in peeces, and the spirit willing to come forth as from a building, whose walls were crackt, and the beames rotten, this bad complexion of his made him ashamed, he was tall of stature, leane and slender, his sholders crooked and sticking out, his head bare and bald, his face full of pimples and Fistulas, knots and bolwaies disfigured with plasters, nor did the haire of his beard one whit couer this deformity, for the Emperours were not any, his nature was best pleased with solitarinesse, and had beene accustomed thereunto at *Rhodes*, where he eschued much company to couer his Riots, and those of his wife.

Soueraigne authority can admit no companion.

Matrem Dominationis sociam aspernabatur. Tac.

But one of the most apparrant reasons was his impatience being not able to endure any longer neare his Mother, who would doe all, nor could he wrest the authority out of her hands, for hee receiued the Empire by them, and vpon euery occasion she would reproach him, that he raigned not but by her meanes, & that he was no lesse beholding to her for his fortune then for his birth. It was true, for *Liuia* perceiuing that *Augustus* would haue declared *Germanicus* his successour vpon the beliefe he had, that his election would be gratefull to the people, who loued and extolled him, she preuailed so much by her prayers and entreaties, that *Tiberius* was in the end assured to attaine to the Empire after *Augustus* and *Germanicus* after *Tiberius*,

Liuia

Liuia did put him in minde hereof; this remembrance seemed a reproch, this reproch a summoning him to an acknowledgment, and the failing therein ingratitude.

Qui exprobrat reposcit. Tac.

He performed this Voyage then to be far from his Mother, and was therein accompanied but with a small traine, to wit, with one Senator named *Cocceius Nerua*, learned in the Lawes, with *Seianus*, and with one Knight called *Curtius Atticus*, whom *Seianus* ruined a little after, the residue were learned men, and most of them Græcians, for he passed his time in discoursing with them, and delighted in the beauty and riches of that language the which he spake distinctly, readily, & eloquently: this he could not doe without nature, art, & grace: many speake it, but few know how to speake it well, and to do so, their discourse must alwaies be to the purpose, and the current thereof without confusion.

Marius participe Seianus, Curtium Atticum oppressit. Tac.

Besides the contentment *Seianus* had to possesse his Master alone, he managed the affaires with more surety and lesse enuy, but giuing still leaue vnto fortune to fasten the surer vpon him. His abode at *Rome* was not so fit for estranging from his house all ordinary company, he left his friends, but in receiuing them daily, he made the number to be knowen, & ministred iealousie to his Master, he reaped hereby also another commodity for he alone receiuing the packets which the souldiers of the Guard brought, he was sole Arbiter of all dispatches. All the functions of *Tiberius* soule were distracted in this hurtfull leasure, and all his strength melted away in these delights, which *Seianus* alwaies seasoned with some notable example, because this Prince beleeued that his authority would be lost if his seuerity maintained not the reputation thereof. This

He that meddles with many businesses gives way vnto fortune, to lay more hold of him.

Qui assiduos in domum cætus arcet in fringit potentiam: Qui recipit facultatem criminantibus præbet. Tac.

The souldiers carried the packets and were called speculators.

solitude produced an occasion which greatly confirmed the proofe of his fidelity, for as *Tiberius* on a time dined in a Caue, the mouth of that falling downe slew some of his Officers, and he himselfe had beene smothered without the helpe of *Seianus*, who couered him with his head and hands, his Princes safety being more precious vnto him then his owne, from thence forth he followed his councels, were they neuer so dangerous, without any consideration either of the ground or consequence, as of a person who had witnessed to haue no other interest therein, then that of his authority. He caused him resolue to rid himselfe of *Nero* the neerest to the succession, whose hopes troubled his rest, and busied the mindes of the people with a desire of change: he playes the part of a Iudge, and his people about him were the accusers, and condemned him as an offender. This young Prince had modesty enough in his condition, but little iudgement to take any sudden resolution, and to weigh the councels of his seruants, who ceased not to tell him that his birth carried him to the Empire, that the people desired it; that the legions craued it; that *Seianus* was wicked enough not to wish it, but not powerfull enough to hinder it. These words did not infuse into his soule any euill thoughts, but drew from his mouth at vnawares certaine words, which being reported to *Seianus*, and by him to *Tiberius*, were taken for a conspiracy; when he is in Court they take heed of all that he doth, they blame his words, and his silence also is blamed. All his actions are watched, there is no safety nor assurance in his owne house, and the night it selfe will conceale nothing for him. If he sleepes in his

Hinc metus in omnes & fuga eorum qui conuiuium celebrabant. Ta.

Qui non sui sed principis est anxius, cum fide audiuit quanquam exitio suadebat. Ta.

Nero quanquam modesta iuuenta tamen quid in præsentiarum conduceret oblitus. Ta.

Nihil quidem prauæ cogitationis sed interdum voces contumaces & incusitæ. Ta.

wiues

wiues bosome, euen there he shall finde perfidious dealing, for like a vessell that leaks she lets all run out that is put into her, she reports vnto *Livia* the Emperours Mother his waking dreames, and his very sighes, *Livia* recounts them to *Seianus*, who bandies his Brother *Drusus* against him, giuing him hope of the first ranke, when his elder Brother whom the hatred of *Tiberius* had already much shaken, should be beaten downe. *Drusus* was of a fierce spirit, for besides his desire to command, and the emulation which is ordinarily betwixt brethren, hee was desperately iealous that *Agrippina* his Mother loued *Nero* better then him. *Seianus* had no better heart, nor bore any greater affection to *Drusus* then to the other, but knowing that he had courage, and durst carry himselfe stoutly in danger, he supposed it would be more easie for him to lay some ambush to entrap and ruine him.

All *Germanicus* friends were sought after and persecuted, one friend betraied another, the firmest friendship went not so farre as the Altar, but couered such inhumane disloialties as they shewed how dangerous it was for man to trust man, whose forehead is a lyar, his eye a traitor, and his countenance a deceiuer. *Sabinus* accused with *Silius* remained not any long time, but that he saw himselfe to be at the same cliffe from whence he was precipitated, but it was by a notable treason. Foure Pretors followed the Consulat, the supreame honour of our Romane ambition, twelue vshers marched before the Consul, he that sate downe rose vp, and he that was on horseback, or in his Coach alighted, each man was vncouered, and many put by their swords to doe them reuerence. These men ha-

A Roman Senator to assay the discretion of his wife, as of a vessell ill closed he would not poure thereunto, either wine or oyle but water onely feeding her curiosity with nothing but flammes and guls of his owne inuentions. *Plut.*

Nenox quidem secura cum uxor vigilia, somnia, suspiria, matri Liviæ atque illa Seiano patefaceret. Ta.

Iam diù sopita fratrum odia accenduntur. Ta.

Multis simulationum involucris tegitur natura vnius cuiusque frons oculi vultus persæpe mentiuntur. Cic.

Si consulem videro aut prætorem omnia quibus honor haberi solet faciam equo desiliam, caput aperiam semita cedam. Sen.

uing no meanes to obtaine it but by the fauour of *Seianus*, which could not be acquired by any iuſt nor honourable waies, knew not what to reſolue; to giue him money, he hath no need of it; he hath the diſpoſall of the riches of the Empire, and of the treaſure of the Emperour, which amounts vnto more then 7200. millions, their nature is too violent and peruerſe to furniſh him with pleaſures, and for honours he is greater then the Emperour, for his will is a law to them of his faction, his Statues are raiſed as high as thoſe of *Cæſars*, to purchaſe the fauour of the Oracle he makes a ſacrifice of the heads of his enemies.

Seiani voluntas niſi ſcelere quærebatur. Ta.

Of this number was *Titus Sabinus* a Roman knight, who thinking that the friend that falters was neuer any, continued after the death of *Germanicus* his affection towards his children, aſſiſting them in their affaires at home, and bearing them company through the ſtreets abroad, glorying in the conſtancy of his fidelity, in ſuch a time when their moſt faithfull friends were become fearefull, and the moſt obliged ingratefull.

The friendſhip that ceaſeth was neuer friendſhip.

Sellator domi comes in publico poſt tot clientes unus. Ta.

This being pleaſing to honeſt men, and incenſing the miſchieuous, was quickly perceiued by *Seianus*, who eſteemed it a brauado and contempt, that a man of that degree ſhould ſet ſo litle by his power, as openly to declare himſelfe for his enemy. Theſe men haue notice of the wound in his heart, and go about to plucke out the arrow which ſtucke in it, *Latiarius* to betray *Seianus* becomes the ſpie, and the reſt witneſſes, he had ſome former acquaintance with him, he now renewes, improues, and reinforces it, with a more ſtrict familiarity, beginnes to praiſe him that he remained ſo conſtant in his friendſhip towards the family of *Germanicus*, after

Eo apud bonos laudatur gravis iniquis. Ta.

Compoſitum inter ipſos ut Latiaris ſtrueret dolum ceteri teſtes adeſſent.

ter that others flinched away, he ſpoke of this Prince with honour, of his wife with pity, and of his children with hopes, *Sabinus* thinking to haue found a man truly confident for to poure into his heart his griefes, as mens hearts are alwaies tender in feeling of calamities, he let drop his teares, then his plaints followed them, and after that reproaches and iniuries againſt *Seianus*, he ſpeakes of his cruelties, his pride, and his deſignes, and as it is difficult to bridle a diſcourſe when choller and paſſion haue ſcope, many franke words eſcaped him againſt *Tiberius*.

Florentis domus amici ad ſtrictam deſerunt. Ta.

Molles in calamitate mortalium animi. Ta.

Effudit lachrimas iunxit queſtus audentius onerat Seianum ſævitiã ſuperbiam ſpes eius. Ta.

This ſecret paſſion ſo euaporated, and his minde ſo freely diſcharged, he beleeued that he was well aſſured of the amity and freedome of *Latiaris*; becauſe they haue mixed together their bold complaints, and words dangerous and prohibited.

Species arctæ amicitiæ inter eos qui ſermonibus vetita miſcuere.

And as afflicted ſoules know and ſeeke out one another, *Sabinus* went euery day towards *Latiaris*, ſtill to open him ſome new wound in his heart, and that ſo much the more confidently, by how much hee held him for a moſt truſty friend, the pore man ſhould ſpend more time aud iudgement to try him.

Dolores quaſi ad fidiſſima afferuntur.

Latiaris related this diſcourſe of *Sabinus* to three other Senators; but becauſe the proofe of one man alone was not enough to condemne him, they agreed to hide themſelues betweene the boards and the ſeeling, to heare him; in the meane while *Latiaris* ſhould make him continue and renue this diſcourſe: he findes him in the market place, brings him to his houſe, and tells him hee had newes to tell him, the chamber being ſhut, he repreſents vnto him the danger paſt and the preſent miſeries, wherein thoſe times

Turpis latebra deteſtanda fraus Ta.

were

Praeterita & instantia quorum affatim copia ac novos terrores cumulat. Ta.

were but too much abounding; he raises vpon the old plaints new feares, not so much to let him know, that all was desperate, as to make him sing and speake to his owne guise: *Sabinus* who yet beleeued more, answered, that matters were in that state, as there can be nothing said nor pronosticated, but ill, that there was no expectation of any goodnesse in a gouernment so tyranicall and insolent: and as we cannot easily retaine plaints and iniuries, when once they haue found a passage, and it is difficult to conceale that which hurts vs, he made *Seianus* the instrument of all the calamity priuate and publique. We doe hardly retayne that which hurtes vs.

Mastaubi semel, prorupere, difficilius reticentur.

All this discourse came thorow the holes of the boards into the eares of the three Senators, who as soone as *Sabinus* was departed, perfected the treason; *Tacitus* saith that at the very instant by expresse letters they certified all vnto *Caesar*, expressing vnto him the treason and their infamy, and *Dion* saith, that this was done to gratifie *Seianus*: he should adde thereunto, that it concerned themselues, for besides that they would draw a recompence of this disloyalty, and attaine to the honour of Consulship in dishonouring themselues in this manner, if any of them had betrayed his companion there was an end of their liues.

Missis ad Caesarem literis ordinum fraudis suumq; ipsi dedecus narravere. Ta.

Tostano charixomenos. Dion

The rumour of this wickednesse being carryed to *Caprea*, was brought againe presently to *Rome*, where it marueilously troubled mens mindes set euery man vpon his guarde. The eares of all both knowne, and vnknowne, were suspected, they suspected the very walls and things insensible, euery where was nought but silence, sorrow and astonishment.

Nota ignotaque aures vitantur muta aeq; inanima & parietes circum spectabantur. Ta.

Sabinus

Sabinus is layd hands hands vpon the firſt day of the yeere. *Is it thus* (ſaid hee to thoſe that tooke him) *that they begin the new yeere, muſt* Seianus *haue oblations of this qualitie, what aſſurance is there then for a* Romane *Citizen, ſeeing that amongſt our vowes and ſacred Ceremonies, wherein wee abſtaine from the leaſt prophane ſpeech wee may perceiue Ropes to bind and ſtrangle withall, and that in the Temple wee find Priſons.*

Inter ſacra & vota verbis etiam profanis abſtinere mos. Tac.

They put him to death preſently, not giuing him leaſure to defend or iuſtifie himſelfe. His Dog lay downe by his dead body, brought to his mouth the bread that was giuen him, and when hee was caſt into *Tiber*, hee lept after him to keepe him vp that he might not ſinke into the bottome. All the towne wondred to ſee ſuch gratitude in a Beaſt, during ſo many ingratitudes and inhumanities which then defamed men. All his accuſers dyed miſerably, and as Princes hate Traytors when they haue gathered the profite of their Treaſons, ſo *Tiberius* rid them away: for when hee had ſerued his turne with ſuch bad Inſtruments, hee brake them and tooke new ones.

Cum quidam ex corona circumſtante cani cibum obieciſſet, ad os defuncti tulit. Innatauit idem in Tiberim cadauere abiecto ſuſtentare conatus. Plini.

The Emperour thanked the Senate for freeing the Common-wealth from ſuch an Enemie, and added, that he paſſed his life in fear and trembling, that the coniurations of his Enemies held him in paine, and although he named them not, it was eaſily perceiued that hee pointed at *Agrippina* and her Children.

Tiberius ſcelerum miniſtros vt peruerti ab alijs nolebat: ita plerumque ſatiatus & obſtans in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & prægraues affixit. Tac.

Aſinius ſpeaking according to his accuſtomed freedome and libertie, ſaid, *That it was fit the Em-*

Qui metus fatetur, eos amoveri sinat. Tac.

perour should be intreated to discouer his feares, and suffer them to remoue them from his heart. Tiberius tooke this to be too bold an aduice, for it sent a bright beame to the bottome of his heart, which hee was not willing to discouer. *Seianus* pacified him, not for any loue to *Gallus*, but to the end that his choller being restrained, his fall might be the more headlong and violent, hauing alwayes obserued, that the more *Tiberius* meditated reuenge, the more did time and delay sharpen it, and the farther off he threatned, the heauier the stroake fell.

Ægrius accipit princeps, ea quæ recludit quam quæ promit. Tac.

Tiberius sentus in meditando, vbi prorupisset tristioribus dictis atrocia facta coniungebat Tac.

Asinius Gallus was of great repute in the Commonwealth, but in much more disgrace with *Tiberius*, who feared his courage, hated his vertue, said that *his pride was an hereditary disease*, blaming *Asinius Pollio* his Father, a braue captaine, a very perswading Orator, an excellent Poet, a friend to truth in a time when it was very odious.

Asinius Pollio made a Tragedy of the Ciuill Wars.

Tiberius (who neuer forgot the stinging speech which *Asinius* had spoken to him at his first comming to the Empire, when alleaging that hee was capable but of the one halfe thereof, he sodainely asked him which he would haue) cast him in prison where hee languished three yeeres, in the end death set him at liberty, but it is not knowne whether it were naturall or forced. Princes will not be otherwise treated withall, then thus; wee must speake to them by supplication and remonstrance; to tell them of their faults, is not to correct them, but to offend them.

Interroga Cæsar quam partem reipublicæ tibi mandari velis? Tac.

Speaking to Princes we must not so much consider that that be true which we speake, as whether they be willing to heaken thereunto.

About this time dyed the Emperours Mother aged according to *Dion* 86. or according to *Plinie* 82.

Iulia Augusta 82. annos vitæ Pucino retulit acceptos, non alio vino vsa. Plini.

Sa. who referres the length of her life to the quality of the wine she dranke.

The Senate ordained for her great honours, but her sonne (not out of modesty, but out of enuy) cut off some part thereof, and by his letters dissembled nothing that he was offended at the fauours of his Mother, taxing the Consull *Fuluius*, whom the Empresse loued: a man fit to attract the loue of women, and who had the art to speake gracefully, and could giue *Tiberius* such close girds, that would bite him sore, and whose sharpenesse hee had felt: great men doe not easily forget that which neuer so little exceedeth merriment.

Facetiarum apud præpotentes in longum memoria est, dum acerbæ sunt. Tac.

Tiberius his haires were waxen gray vnder the obedience of his Mother; for neither his age nor his maiestie had freed him from this dutie; that wise *Roman* said, *That who loues not those that brought him into the world is impious, and hee that doth not acknowledge them is mad.* But this respect founded vpon the deuoire of nature, did not impeach the libertie of State Reason, which is iealous of any thing that may incroach vpon Authority; hee was offended that his Mother dedicating an Effigie of *Augustus* neere the Theater of *Marcellus*, did place the name of *Liuia* before that of *Tiberius*; he thought that Maiestie was wounded in that, and a Prince should not indure it to be touched in any thing.

Parentes non amare impietas est; non agnoscere insania. Sen.

Iuliæ Tiberij nomen suo postscripsit, Tiberius vt inferius Maiestate principis dissimulatum & graui offensione abdidit. Tac.

Shee was married to *Tiberius Nero*, father to the Emperour *Tiberius*, and *Augustus* extreamely taken with her loue, rauished her from her husband, and that so sodainly, that hee gaue her not time to lye in

Penatibus grauidam induxit, Tac.

in the house from whence hee tooke her. It is not knowne whether shee consented to this change, or whether her ignorance gaue her any colour; faire women which haue committed any fault by the perswasion of a Prince, beleeue that Authority excuseth them: *Hellen* said, *That her Mother offended not, hauing* Iupiter *as a warrant for her transgression.*

Vitium autho e redemit. Ouid.

Matris in admisso fal'a sub imagine lusæ error inest, pluvia tectus adulter erat. Ouid.

Scribonia wife to *Augustus* was repudiated for hauing too freely complained of the immoderate power of this new friend: her fall assured *Liuia*, and her fault taught her thus to gaine the heart of her husband, shee must please his humour; wherefore being asked how shee could so absolutely rule her husband; she answered, *in not prying into his actions, and in dissembling his affections.*

Neuer did woman giue better aduice to her husband; for seeing that *Augustus* to haue reigned seuerely liued not securely, and that *Cinna* did goe about to kill him in a towne of the *Gaules*, at such time as hee was to offer sacrifice, and to giue him vp as an oblation for the publike weale. *Augustus* was much discontented with this enterprize, and wished his death, seeing so many men desired that hee should die, and that a man of that qualitie, Nephew of *Pompey*, should attempt to take away his life: being in this perplexitie *Liuia* his wife spake vnto him these memorable words, *The Remedies you haue vsed haue not preuailed, embrace their contraries; seuerity hitherto hath beene vnprofitable, essay what clemency will doe, pardon* Cinna, *his designe is discouered, hee cannot annoy your life, and may increase your reputation.*

Quid viuis si perire te tam multorum interest? quis finis erit supplicii tui? quis sanguinis? D. Aug.

Seueritate nihil adhuc profecisti, tenta quomodo tibi cedat clementia: ignosce Cinnæ; deprehensus est, iam nocere tibi non potest, prodesse famæ tuæ potest. D. Liv.

tation. *Augustus* was perswaded by her, caused *Cinna* come vnto him, and shewing him how hee was enformed of his enterprise, said vnto him; *I haue already giuen you life as an enemy and rebell, I giue it you now as a traitor and parricide; let vs speake no more of it, let vs be friends, let vs make it appeare which of vs will doe better, I, in pardoning, or you in repenting.*

Contendamus vtrum ego meliore fide vitam tibi dedi an tu debeas.

As *Tiberius* had his fauourite, *Liuia* also had hers; to obtaine any thing of *Tiberius*, the passage must be through the discretion of *Seianus*; and hee that will purchase the fauour of *Liuia* must sacrifice to *Virgulania*; whose Authority in the Citie was so great, that none durst enterprize any thing against her, how iust soeuer it were; for shee did raise her aboue the Lawes; moreouer, shee was a woman so fierce and arrogant, that being called before the Senate, shee refused to appeare, although no person was dispensed withall, not the Vestall Nunnes. *Tiberius* was constrained (for the respect hee bore his Mother) to be troubled for any thing that concerned her, in such manner, that her Nephew hauing throwne his wife out of the windowes, hee incontinently went to visit the Chamber, and saw that this woman did not precipitate her selfe as her husband did alleadge, for they beheld the markes of the effect to push her, and of her resistance to withstand.

Amicitia Augustæ Virgulaniam extulerat supra leges. Tac.

Vestales in foro & iudicio audiri, quoties testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuit. Tac.

Virgulania monitu principis, pugionem nepoti misit. Tac.

As long as this Princesse was aliue, hee moderated his will, submitting it (for respect vnto her) to her councels, and *Seianus* likewise in dutie humbled his designes to her commandements, not daring

Tunc veluti frænis exoluti proruperunt. Tac.

ring to gainsay them; but after this death, all things grew irregular and disorderly, and there was now no more hope or refuge for innocency.

Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis vltra quàm antiquis fœminis probatum materium potius vxor facilis, & cum artibus mariti simulatione filij bene composita.

C. Cæsar who succeeded in the Empire praised her publikely before the Pallace, for that she had religiously gouerned her houshold after the old fashion, not permitting the present time to bring in againe those vanities and curiosities which had so much marred the simplicitie of former ages: a Princesse, gentle and courteous, and of a higher straine of Princely carriage then other women of her time, a mother that would not endure any thing, a wife that had nothing in her vnsufferable, and so discreet that she could sagely fit her selfe to the wisedome of *Augustus*, and the dissimulation of *Tiberius*.

There is nothing in man but his ambition which waxeth not old. *Thucid. & Plut.*

The Senate receiued Letters from *Tiberius* against *Agrippina* and her children. It was thought they had beene written long before, but that the Empresse had detained them, foreseeing that they would cause some trouble; and although her ambition was not growne old, yet shee desired to passe the remainder of her dayes in peace.

Quis nulla ex honesto spes, publica mala in occasionem gratiæ trahuntur. Tac.

They accused not *Nero* or *Drusus* of any crime against the State, nor of leuying of troopes, nor of introducing of nouelties, but onely to be debauched; there could be nothing said against the Mother, but to reproach her with her pride and stubbornenesse. The Letters being read, there was some question touching the deliberating thereof; and as the opinions were more or lesse rigorous, according to the nature of those which were too opine, some Senators whose hopes could not be grounded vpon honour,

who

who ſought for occaſion of grace and fauour in the miſeries of the publike, were of opinion contrary to the more ancient and wiſer, who lifting vp their thoughts higher then theſe, found that there was no minde ſo ſtrong and firme but ought to be very reſerued, in giuing either counſell or iudgement vpon the liberty or life of him who might ſucceede the Prince.

Tiberius had giuen the charge of the Acts and Records of the Senate to *Iunius Ruſticus*, who hauing neuer before giuen any proofe of conſtancy or courage, ſhewed notwithſtanding, that it were good to proceede ſlowly in this buſineſſe, that they may giue the old man time and ſpace to repent himſelfe and reuoke his commandement, for things of greateſt moment oftentimes change themſelues on a ſodaine; that nature alſo was ſtrong and flouriſhing in the houſe of *Germanicus*, but in that of *Tiberius* weake and feeble.

Dandum interſtitium pœnitentiæ. Tac.

Breuibus momentis ſecunda verti poſſunt. Tac.

Vpon this contention, the people who would not indure that theſe Princes ſhould be treated as criminals, deteſt this iniuſtice, and caſting the blame therof vpon *Seianus*, carry the effigies of *Agrippina* and *Nero* through the Citie, aſſemble themſelues about the Pallace, cry out, theſe Letters were falſe and counterfeit, make *Seianus* his proceſſe, and faigning the opinions of the Senators, the boldeſt of the company hauing gathered them of his companions pronounce againſt him the ſentence of death. And hereupon there wanted not Satyres to be diſperſed abroad, ſo much the more bitter, by how much the authors were vnknowne, and are the more greedily collected

Fœrebantur ſub nominibus conſularium ficta in Seianum ſententiæ. Tac.

Per occultum libido ingeniorum exercetur procacius. Tac.

lected and sought after, by how much the more they are sharpe and ingenious.

Seianus who should haue warded these blowes by his contempt of them, giues contentment to his enemies, as to let them know that this troubles him; lets the Emperour see that his Maiestie is wronged by his iniurie, that the people vndertaking to raise assemblies, and pronounce sentences; there remained to them no other thing, but to take armes, and to choose for Emperour him whose Image they carried for their Ensignes.

Facile populus duces imperatoresque diligit, quorum imagines pro vexillis sequitur. Tac.

Tiberius sends new letters to the Senate, continues his plaints against *Agrippina* and her children, against the timerity and insolence of the people, and against the Senate for inclining more to the cunning of one Senator, then to the reuerence of his commandement, in contempt of his pleasure, and derision of his authority: but he addes further, that he reserues to himselfe the knowledge of him: the fathers excuse themselues, protesting that they were resolued to punish them to the vttermost, if his commandements had not stayed them.

Integra sibi cuncta postulauit.

Here all the world laments the vnestimable losse of the bookes of *Cornelius Tacitus*, by which wee might attaine to the knowledge of *Agrippinaes* fortune, of the coniuration of *Seianus*, and would lighten vs with the torch of truth amidst the obscurity of coniectures. Libraries haue preserued many Books, to whom we will willingly resort, for that which is wanting of this excellent Historian, who knew all that hee should know of the affaires of the world.

Inestimable losse of the Annals of *Cornelius Tacitus*, not of some few pages, but of all things past since the yeare 782. vnto 785.

Now

Now *Tiberius* ceaſed not vntill ſuch time as the Senate did content him, and that all his violences were authoriſed by their iudgement. There was nothing did ſo much further the condemnation of *Agrippina* and her children, then the aduice which *Seianus* gaue to *Tiberius*, that ſhee was determined to goe through the Temples of *Rome* and embrace the Statues of *Auguſtus*, to moue the people, and if that way did not preuaile, to direct her courſe to *Almaine* to ſeize the Legions.

Nouiſſime calumniatus modo ad ſtatuam Auguſti modo ad exercitus confugere velle. Suet.

Agrippina was not more mildely handled then her children, and we muſt beleeue of her the ſame which *Suetonius* reports of them: that hee cauſed them to be declared enemies, and to dye of hunger: *Nero* was confined to the Iſle of *Pontia*, and *Druſus* a priſoner in the Pallace; the bruit was, that *Nero* ſeeing the Hangman bring a balter and a hooke to make his choiſe of, killed himſelfe; and that meate being denied to *Druſus*, hee had eaten the ſtuffings of his bed: but the death of theſe two Princes arriued not ſo ſoone, nor in this manner. *Suetonius* related this vpon report, which is fraughted as well with fables as truths, they did their worſt againſt *Agrippina*, and that worſt was to baniſh her to the Iſle of *Pandatria* in the *Tirrhenian* Sea, where ſhe expected each houre for ſome to come to ſtrangle her, or that ſleeping they would ioyne death to her ſlumber; but *Tiberius* would haue her life ſerue her for puniſhment; and as wrongs are leſſe ſupported by ſuch as thinke not to haue deſerued them, and that the cauſe is vniuſt; ſo this poore Princeſſe gaue no intermiſſion to her lamentation and bewai-

Accuſauit per literas amariſſime congeſtis etiam probris; & Iudicatos triſtis fame necauit. Suet.

Druſo adeo alimenta, ſubducta, vt tomentum a culcitra tentauerit mandere. Suet.

Pandatriam relegauit. Suet.

Somnium morti iungere. Petr.

Odiorum cauſæ grauioresquia iniquæ. Tac.

bewailing of the inhumanitie of *Tiberius*. Seeing wee know the iniurie shee suffered, wee may well guesse the complaints shee vttered; her daily discourse was this, but it is not quickened with the grace wherewith her grauitie endowed it, nor the ardour wherewith her choler enflamed it.

And cruell, is he content, to see that with a glutted heart hee may now quench in the blood of Augustus *this fervent thirst which so much tormented him; and this disloyall* Seianus, *will he complaine of fortune, that brought vnto his power these three heads which stopped his passage to tyranny.*

Fuerim tantũ nihil amplius dolitura: domui piamentum Sen.

The gods haue chosen mine alone to beare all the miseries of my house, and the expiation of all others: I demand of them but one fauour, which is death; is it possible that they will deny it vnto the miserable? and what is more miserable in this life, then to desire death, or in death to be deprived of Sepulture?

Quid miserius in vita quam velle mori? quid in morte quam sepeliri non posse. Sen.

The plaints which are not prohibited to the most wretched, and which giue some ease to misery, are not permitted vnto me; and yet know I not but some body ouer-heares me, who will recount all that I speake, and I am well-pleased therewith, it is a badge of feare and debilitie not to dare speake our oppression.

I will poure forth my mones to heauen and earth of the inhumanities of Tiberius *exercised vpon the dead and the liuing; he was author of my Vncles death, who recoiled his hopes;* Augustus *my Grandfather a little after discouered his intention to* Fuluius *to call backe* Agrippa: *This poore* Agrippa *was the first victime slaughtred in the entry of his raigne.* Iulia *my mother, who for her last misfortune and her third hus-*

Augustus discouered this secret to *Fuluius*, who told it to his wife, she to *Liuia*. *Augustus* was angry with *Fuluius*, who for spite kild himselfe. Plut.

band

band had espoused this cruell man, incontinently posted after her Sonne. Germanicus *was impoisoned, his wife banished,* Nero *exiled,* Drusus *a prisoner,* Caligula *in their power; what wish they more?*

I haue beene married, hee hath ranished away my husband from me; I could be sped of another of the chiefest Families of Rome, *he hath hindred it: I haue beene a Mother, he deprined me of my children; I was free, he vsed me as a slaue; there is nothing rests me but honour, and he seekes with impudent calumnies to wither it away; his obloquies taking no hold of me, he framed an Imposture which carries the stinke of the place from whence it issueth: he saies that* Asinius Gallus *beares me affection, I doe acknowledge my selfe beholding to him, to deeme me worthy to be beloued of a man whom* Augustus *held worthy of the Empire; but he is my Brother in law, and I beare not so little respect vnto my Sister* Vipsania, *as to robbe her of the heart of her Husband.*

Tiberius fordicissimis criminationibus, &c. Tac.

My precedent actions will answer the present; I neuer knew what it meant to loue any but the friends of my Husband, and as farre as it lay in my power, I haue not fixed my eyes nor thoughts vpon any other. If I had any beauty, I neither beleeued it, nor suffered I should be spoken to of it, and made no reckoning of it but for decencie.

It is not fit a woman should haue particular friends, but to esteeme in generall, those of her husband.

They haue reason to say that I was too proud: It is true, my disdaines haue serued my designes, for disdainfull beauties intrap not the hearts. I must needes auow that the passion of loue hath giuen place in my

Agrippina æqui impatiens, dominandi auida, virilibus curis fœminarum vitia exuerat. Tac.

minde to that of ambition, and that I was more delighted in imployments which doe onely appertaine to manly courages, then to vanities, which please but the effeminate. It is long since I haue quitted the imperfections of my sexe, to take male and generous thoughts.

The property of good men is to doe well, but of the wicked, to speake ill, and do worse. Plut.

But these Impostures are but the smoakes of that burning desire of Seianus to arriue vnto the Empire: for seeing that Rome beares me good will, and that this good will is sustained but by the opinion they conceiue of some merit, hee did defame mee as a wicked woman, but as hee surmounted me in speaking ill, I haue alwayes surpassed him in doing well.

Let him content himselfe to haue reduced me to that estate, as he needes no more to stand in feare of me; and I finde consolation that he hath brought me to that point, that he can doe me no worse, for I will esteeme for great fauours the greatest harmes he can doe me. Let him not dread that I will any more oppose his ambition, he is to stand in greater awe of fortune then of me, I doe not thinke she will be more fauourable to a wicked designe, then she hath beene partiall in the protection of a iust and lawfull cause.

The Aspect of ambition increaseth by satiety. Tiberius was wont to say, that a man which had passed the age of sixtie yeare, should not streach his hand to the people to haue voice or suffrage. Plut.

His ambition hath no bounds, satietie giues him appetite, he was wont to say in the beginning that he did content himselfe with the Office of Colonell of the Gard, he would haue no more. And now, when for his old age he should onely present his hand to the Physician, he would charge it with a Tribunes staffe, to be in the next degree to Soueraigne command: did he aske his courage whether he were capable of it? hee neuer saw bat-

battell but painted, never drew sword but for a show.

After all this, his will is, that I should liue, to the end that death may serue me as a punishment, not permitting me to shew that a woman can ouercome the terrour of death, which very victors redoubted, and seemes that all the passages to come to death, or to cause death come to me, are stopt. It must needes be that I shall finde it in my affliction, and that my courage yeelde vnto it; I will not resist his violence, consolations will redouble it, I will refuse them from what part soeuer they come; these of my friends are commendable in them, but vnprofitable vnto me.

Vici, quem vicerim quæris, metum mortis qui victores gentium vicit. Sen.

Officium pium sed inutile. Ouid.

If abstinence, affliction, solitude, and griefe may not with-draw me from this misery: And if it must needes be that I liuing dye, and dying liue, I shall attend what end the gods shall be pleased to send me; and hap what will, as I haue liued Agrippina *I will dye* Agrippina.

Expectandus exitus quem natura decreuit. Sen.

The smart of her wounds daily inflaming, she alwayes increased and renewed without ceasing the complaints which an exercisd grief could not moderate: her words were reported to *Tiberius*, who was very glad that she continually gaue him occasion to make worse their ill vsage to her; for it would grieue him that her patience would oblige him to any curtesie: hee commanded the Captaine, in whose ward she was, not to let passe these bad speeches without blowes; this cruell man who well perceiued that to please *Tiberius* hee must outrage *Agrippina*: hearing her to perseuere in her complaints

He that is vnder the power of an other, ingages his condition by his impatience and liberty of his complaints

Conuitianti oculum per Centurionem verberibus excussit. Suet.

and reproaches against *Tiberius*, did so inhumanely and brutishly beate her, that he pulled out one of her eyes.

Mori in edia destinanti per vim ore diducto infulciri cibum iussit. Suet.

After this barbarous outrage, she would no longer liue, and no more to attend death, but to goe and meet him: shee remained some dayes without eating, but the Souldiers forcibly opening her mouth constrained her to swallow downe nutriment: shee was in this more vnfortunate then others, that may dye at their pleasure, and haue no impediment but their will; she would faine die, but they will that she liue; Death is the onely receit for her euils, and they keepe her by force from it: those men are not lesse cruell who kill them which desire to liue, then those who doe compell them to liue which desire to dye.

Ad moriendū nihil aliud in mora quam velle. Sen. Non magis crudeles sunt qui volentem viuere occidunt, quam qui mori volentes non sinunt. Sen.

Seianus for all this is not where hee weenes: all that hee did to aduance his proiect, recoyles it; for *Tiberius* being rid of the mistrust of *Germanicus*, of the iealousie of *Drusus*, and reuenged of the pride of *Agrippina* and her children; thinkes of nothing that might more trouble him then the arrogance and vnlimited power of *Seianus*, this ioynes new suspicions to old feares, and puts in his head that he dreamed of the Empire.

Quos diu fortuna tequntaest, eos repente velut fatigata destituit. Q. Cur.

Fortune also began to be weary of following him; for he went too fast, as if she had but raised him to cause him to fall from so high a pitch, as no body should dare to stretch out their arme, or present their bosome to receiue him. *Tiberius* who loued him, began to feare him, and seeing the Senate to

make

make more account of him then himselfe, entred into some apprehension that they would make him Emperour; and from thenceforth purposed to plucke this thorne out of his heart: but he did nothing rashly, for it was dangerous not onely to vndertake to ruine him, but to make a shew thereof, he went on very slowly, and against the aduice of wise men, who are of opinion that great matters should be sooner done then consulted.

Dion saith that *Tiberius* seeing that *Sejanus* was followed and redoubted of the Senators, feared least they should make him Emperor.

This delay proceeded from prudence and affection; for it vexed him to vndoe a man, who began to serue him before he began to raigne.

Notwithstanding, I doe beleeue that if there had beene but this, hee would dissemble it, and would neuer rid himselfe of him; for hee was very proper for his humours, knowing them most perfectly, agreeing to his desires, soothing his opinions, drew him so dexterously from dangers, and vntwined his perplexities; he had cut off all the principall heads which brought him either feare or iealousie, and reposing himselfe on the vigilancy of a seruant so faithfull and approued, hee did not intermeddle but with great occurrents, but liued at ease in his Isle.

The good Courtier should know the complexion of his Prince.

And although it be difficult to sound the hearts of Princes, and the motiues of sodaine prosperities; yet it is certaine, that there is not a neerer way to purchase his good will, then to serue him in such things as are either agreeable or profitable, to conduct his pleasures and mannage his purse: all that is honest and profitable should please, but the passion

See vpon this subiect an excellent Treatise of M. du Refuge Counceller of State.

of

Rationem felicitatis nemo reddit. Auſon.

of pleaſure ouercomes the conſideration of honour and profit. *Seianus* was ſtored with all things that were befitting to entertain the Prince with pleaſures, and baniſh the neceſſity of affaires, and did ſo command his heart, that he gaue it what motion he liſted to loue, feare or hate.

To be beloued of a Prince, we muſt ſerue him in his pleaſures.

He hath done him great ſeruices, and although the conſideration of this be not alwayes plauſible in the mindes of Princes; for there are ſome, who the more they are bound the leſſe they loue; yet *Tiberius* would haue great men vnderſtand what they may hope for in ſeruing him well, but there is no likelihood that if he had not great gifts both of ſpirit and courage, he ſhould not continue ſo long neere *Tiberius* a Prince hard to be pleaſed, ſeuere, skilfull, and miſtruſtfull: the Hiſtory repreſents vs with two ſeuerall portraitures, the one ſet forth by the pencill of *Tacitus*, who layes him downe a wicked perſon, the other by the hand of *Velleius Paterculus* who flatters him and giues him all the properties of a perfect Courtier. He ſaith that The vigour of his body was anſwerable to the ſtrenght of his ſpirit, which wrought without paine, and did all things as if hee had done nothing, and in his greateſt actions ſeemed to be at repoſe, and as if hee had neither beene buſied nor preſſed, that he ranne not after occaſions, not aſcribed vnto himſelfe the honour, atchieued all and yet put himſelfe beneath the eſteeme that was had of him; one that neuer made ſhew of trouble or emulation in his countenance, his ſpirit alwayes watchfull and who neuer ſlept.

The Prince ſhould beare reſpect to ſeruices, to the end he may be the better ſerued.

Seianus laboris capaciſsimus, ſufficiente vigore animi compage corporis & actu ociosis ſimillimus. Vell.

Infra aliorum æſtimationes ſe matiens, vultu vitaque tranquillus, animo ex ſemnis. Vell.

But

But howſoeuer it was *Seianus* was indeede an able man, and hauing laſted almoſt as long as *Tiberius*, wee may beleeue that if fortune had not reuolted againſt his Counſels, he had conſtrained her to ſubmit her ſelfe to his wiſdome.

Onely I doe wonder, that hauing purchaſed ſo many friends, he had want of friends; that amongſt ſo many heads depending vpon his, and could not ſtand firme if his were cut off, there was none that would ſpeake freely and ſincerely vnto him to preuent his ruine. But it is the common miſhap of great ones, all the diſcourſe wee hold with them muſt be gratefull and ſoothing, they thinke that truth owes them all that obſeruance and reſpect doth lend them; if there were Iudges ordained for flattery, they would haue no doings, for there is none will complaine that they are flattered.

To ſpeake to great men mildly and pleaſing, *Atheneus* calleth the ſame, chariglottein.

Seianus was ſo vnfortunate that hee had not any friend that would ſay vnto him ſincerely and freely; Sir, moderate your ſpirit, deſpite not your fortune, play not with your Maſter, this time will not laſt alwaies, patience too much wronged turnes to fury. And if one would haue ſaid ſo much, hee would not haue beleeued it, pride did dazell him, hee bragged to haue fire and water in his hands, and that hee would vſe them as hee pleaſed.

Dion ſaith, that if ſome god were deſcended and had aſſured the ruine of *Seianus*, he would not beleeue, for in that time euery man ſwore by his fortune.

Tiberius then perceiuing, although too late, that *Seianus* built his hopes vpon his tombe, and that hee did not onely dreame, but verily thinke, yea

Not onely to attempt, but to thinke or dream againſt the State, is an offence.

attempt the Empire: hee reſolues to quench the fire of this ambicion with the bloud of the ambicious. The firſt ſuſpicion he had thereof was for his marriage with *Liuia*, *Druſus* widdow. The ſecond was vpon this, that the houſe of *Germanicus* being ruined, there was no ſtoppe for his inſolency that was mounted ſo high, that hee could no longer ſtand vpon his legges. The third was the exceſſe of his power in affaires of the Senate, of the treaſure and Commandments. The fourth, was his great traine of ſeruants and attendants, whoſe obſequiouſneſſe impaired his complexion. The fift was vpon this, that hee held *Druſus* priſoner, and *C. Ceſar* at his deuotion, that hee might vpon any occaſion produce them, and in their names continue the gouernment of the ſoueraignty. The ſixt was vpon the trickes hee vſed to diuert the Emperour from ſoiourning in the City, and keeping him as a captiue vnder the pretext of his abſence, and of his age. The ſeauenth, vpon the great and violent purſuit hee made to gaine the power of Tribune. The eighth, that *Seianus* ſhould vſe certaine words which hee deſired rather to be concealed then expreſſed: and when of all this there were but the onely ſuſpicion of aſpiring to the State, to what end needed any further to ſeeke for a greater crime.

Summum ad gradum claritatis cum veneris, ægre conſiſtes. Laber.

Improba blanditia, non quæ amiciorem ſed quæ deteriorem facit aſſentando. Alc.

Prouidebat Cæſarem vrgente iam ſenecta, ſecretoque loci mollitum munia Imperij facilius tranſmiſſurum. Tac.

But *Tiberius* is blamed for two acts ſhewing feebleneſſe of courage: The firſt for hauing ſuffered the encreaſe of ſo great a power, which cannot be attained with too much pain, nor leſſened with too much

much ſeuerity; the tree which at firſt was but a little twigge, ſpread its heads and branches ſo high that it made him a very dangerous ſhade; that which might haue beene plucked vp with one hand when it began to ſprout out, tooke ſuch large and deepe root, that it was afterwards hard to pull vp with both; that Prince who hinders not the encreaſe of Ambition when it doth but begin to grow, receiues no other profit by his ſufferance but repentance and loſſe; the State cannot endure two Kings no more then the World two Suns, or the Temple two Deities. The Soueraigne authority is a ſtrong Cauſey, which is not ſo ſoone deſtroyed by the violence of the current, or the weight of the water which it ſuſtaines, as by ſome ſmall rift or opening which makes way for the torrent to ouerthrow it.

Abundance of blood drawne from the beſt veine, is well imployed, to defend or acquire one only drop of Authority.

After that there is once a breach in Soueraigne Authority, it fals to wrack.

The ſecond is, for vſing ſo much ceremony in ſo vrgent an occaſion, ſo much cunning in ſo great power, ſo much trembling and feare in ſo great aſſurance; for to rid him from him, he made him his Collegue in the Conſulſhip, and neuer had any aſſociate without misfortune.

Quintus Varus. Cn piſo. Germanicus & Druſus.

When *Tiberius* wrote to the Senate, hee ſtuffed his Letters with the merits of *Seianus*, and his ſeruice done to the Empire: you ſhould finde often theſe words therein; *Seianus my friend, my Seianus, I ſay my Seianus.* It ſeemes he had limited the glory of the Empire but to the continuance of his life; his Statues appeared euery where, euery one giues them preſents as vnto their tutelary gods, who will

refuſe to yeeld honour vnto him vnto whom the Emperour giues it ſo freely.

Vino debemus homines, quod ſoli animantium non, ſitientes bibimus. Plini.

This Conſulſhip for fiue yeeres did amaze him, and as the excellency of the Wine vrgeth a man to drinke beyond drought, ſo ſweetneſſe of proſperity makes him drunke, and carries him farther then he would goe; whoſoeuer is embarked on this Sea where there are ſo many perils, ſhould neuer truſt to calme, but haue his eyes alwayes fixed on the heauens to conduct him to the quiet hauen of his hopes.

The ſolitary and voluptuous life of *Tiberius* was the ladder of his ambicion, for like another *Sardanapolus* he boaſted of nothing but his riotings. *Seianus* rocked him in this ſhamefull idleneſſe, hauing maliciouſly accuſtomed him to preferre delightfull things before graue and ſerious: who ſo neglects to play the part of a Maſter, ſhall finde ſeruants bold enough to command him; and whoſoeuer ſhewes himſelfe a Prince in his Cabinet onely, may chance finde another in the field.

Impudency accompanied with pride drew from his mouth theſe words, which ſhould not haue entred his thoughts; *I am Emperour of Rome, and Tiberius is Prince of the Iſle:* hee repreſented Playes by bald men, which were conducted backe from the Theater by 3000. Boyes all ſhauen, to mocke at *Tiberius* his bald pate. This number will not be found ſo ſtrange to them that know that the *Romans* had troopes and legions of them, and that ſome haue cauſed twenty thouſand to march before them,

Athenæus accounts them to be 20000. and cals them ante-ambulones.

but

but that hee ſhould cauſe them to be ſhauen, for then there was great pride taken to curle and friſle their treſſes.

Famulus calamiſtratus. Apul. Crinitus puer. Sen. Præcincti pueri comptique. Hor.

Tiberius was preſently enformed of this buffonery, and made ſhew as if he knew it not, although it pricked him to the quicke; but he would haue his diſſembled ignorance excuſe the ſlowneſſe of his aſſured reuenge: ſo is there nothing indeede which more neerely toucheth the heart of a Prince, then to ſee himſelfe braued by a man whom hee hath raiſed from contempt, and the miſery of a baſe condition; it is not leſſe grieuous to be reduced vnto the mockery of his ſeruants, then to the diſcretion of his enemies.

Vpon newes that the *Friſons*, a people inhabiting beyond the *Rhyne*, had broken the peace, and defeated the Armies in battaile: the aſtoniſhment was ſo great at *Rome*, that euery one ran to the Altars of clemency and friendſhip, adoring the Statues of *Tiberius* and *Seianus*, which were neere them, praying them to bring them backe againe to *Rome*: *Tiberius* and *Seianus* would haue the Towneſmen to iudge by their abſence what commodity the preſence of the Court did bring them: nor is it good that a Prince ſhould alwayes remaine in one place; if the Sunne would neuer budge from ſome one of his twelue houſes, all would not goe well: *Tiberius* therefore approached the Citie, but becauſe hee came but vnto the Suburbs, without entring into the Towne, many thought that the limits of Aſtrologie and lying were not of ſo neere affinity as ſome

Aram clementiæ aram amicitiæ, effigiesq; circum Cæſaris ac Sejani conſidere: crebriſq; precibus efflagitabant viſendi ſui copiam facerent. Tac.

said; for the Astrologians had reported that *Tiberius* was gone out of *Rome* vnder such a constellation, that hee would neuer returne againe; and there is great likelihood, that if this feare had not seized vpon his imagination, he would neuer haue staied eleuen yeeres out of *Rome*.

Breue confinium artis & falsi, Tac.

These predictions did encourage the complices of *Seianus*, solliciting him not to temporize any longer, seeing the Starres haue conspired to his designe: and of the other side *Tiberius* would not be surprized; and as the feare of the danger which hee apprehended pressed him forward, so danger of the remedy kept him backe, but imagining that hee should be preuented, if *Seianus* had any inkling of it, hee durst not consult but with himselfe of the Resolution hee was to take.

Seianus as yet mistrusted nothing, prosperity did blinde his eyes, hee beleeued that *Tiberius* thought of nothing but of passing away the time at *Capreæ*. There is nothing spoken of him at *Rome* but as of a Prince that did not Raigne, and liued not but by prayers, could not heare nor see any thing but through *Seianus*, who alone was his eyes and his eares, thought of nothing but his pleasure and ease. This was the cause that moued *Seianus* to carry and presse forward his designes to Soueraigntie with the greater violence; what blindenesse? hee hath not life for one month, yet hee frames enterprises for a whole age.

The King of *Persia* had ministers whom they cald the eies and eares of the King, and by whom he knew of all things that were done or spoken euery where. Apul.

It

It was very hard, but that hee had ſome ſuſpition of the Emperours intention; all the Aduertiſements that were ſent to *Capreæ*, or came to *Rome* paſſed through his hands, and hee harkened to all; neither ſhould they which are imployed in great matters neglect any thing; and although very often they are informed but of fables, yet ſome truth eſcapes, they make their profit of all, and they are well payed, if of an hundred aduertiſements any one proues true.

There is not ſo great a lyer, but will ſome times tell truth.

He held mens mindes at his diſcretion, either for feare, or hopes, or for benefits, they who ſerued *Tiberius* depended vpon *Seianus*, and they who ſerued *Seianus* ſwore by no other name then by that of their Maſter. *Tiberius* did nothing but was related to *Seianus*, and hee was no way aduertiſed of what *Seianus* did againſt his ſeruice; hee had men fit for any thing, *Seneca* tearmes them his Doggos, which would fawne on no body but himſelfe, and would barcke at any body elſe; for hee fed them with mens bloud; if they could not take by the front, they aſſaulted the flanke, and would imbrace men to ſtifle them: hee cauſed it to be noiſed that hee was to make him Tribune, writes to the Senate, that without him this great body of the Empire would fall vnto peeces: in all his Letters he writes that *Seianus* is the Oracle of his deſignes, the companion of his thoughts.

Mens hearts are wonne, either by hopes or feare, or by benefits.

Acerrimi canes quos Seianus vt ſibi vni manſuetos omnibus feros haberet, ſanguine humano paſcebat. Sen.

The Senate which thought not of *Tiberius* diſſimulation, ſearch for all ſorts of honours to raiſe

raiſe *Seianus*, ordaine that their names ſhould bee inſerted together in the ſame line in Patents and Inſcriptions, their Chaires to bee in the ſame ranke in Theaters, and in Temples, their Statues to bee put vp in euery place, and that comming to *Rome* they ſhould goe to meete them.

He that intends the ruine of any body, is glad of his ill carriage.

Tiberius was not ſorry that the Senate did ſupport the pride of *Seianus*, to the end that vanitie making him more inſolent, his deportments would be more hatefull. In the meane while to make *Tiberius* beleeue that his Deſignes went not beyond his life, hee cauſed *Germanicus* to be accuſed to haue attempted againſt the perſon of *Ceſar*. This man for his Iuſtification, ſhewed before the Senate his Teſtament, by which hee did inſtitute the Prince his heire, a proofe of his affection, and that hee deſired not to ſuruiue him; but this would not ſaue him: and as hee ſaw the Queſtour comming to put him to death, hee thruſt himſelfe into the belly with his Knife, and ſaid vnto him, *Goe tell the Senate that I dye as a man ſhould dye*: *Publica Priſca* his wife being at the Pallace did the like. I doe maruaile that among ſo many men who died ſo freely, there was not any that did goe about to kill *Nero* or *Seianus*, for hee that cares not for his life, doth eaſily vndertake to kill.

He that makes another his heire, thinkes to die before him.

Nullum magis aduerſarium timemus quam qui viuere non poteſt, occidere poteſt. Sen:

The favour of *Tiberius* so ardent, was not cooled at the first stroake, it became luke-warme, and after altogether congealed, hee strikes a blow this day for *Seianus*, and to morrow another against him, hee conferred the dignitie of High-prieſt vpon his Sonne, and although he abhorred *Caligula*, yet hee gaue him the same honour, and for this onely cause that hee was enemy to *Seianus*, he gratifies him now in yeeding to his demands, and anon he revoked what he had granted, and keepes his mind in such suspence, betwixt feare and hope; that he knowes not where hee is, and doth not any thing but Amazedly; hee commanded the Senate to absolue a proconsul whom *Seianus* accused.

Tiberius was accustomed to say when he beheld *Caligula*: I doe nourish him as a Serpent to the people of *Rome*, & a *Phaeton* to the rest of the world. *Suet.*

Tiberius did publikely praise *Caligula*, and made it knowne that hee would declare him his Successour, not so much for affection, as to make himselfe lamented, his Successour being more cruell and wicked then himselfe, in his Letters to the Senate hee doth no more stile *Seianus* his friend, they finde his name naked in them without addition of the Titles and Recommendations, which he was wont to giue him, assoone as the affection of a Prince takes vent it doth evaporate, and there is much a doe to keepe it alwayes in the same degree of heate.

Tiberius would haue all to fall to wracke after him, and esteemed *Priamus* happie in that he frighted his kingdom with his fate, *Dio.*

The people did reioyce that *Tiberius* did begin to affect *Caligula*, not for any affection they bore himselfe, who was of an inhumaine and violent nature and delighted in nothing but in blood, but for the honour of the memorie of *Germanicus* his Father, and the desire of the Ruine of *Seianus*

Caligula seeing a great company of Senators at his Table, burst into a great laughter, and being demaunded the cause, it is said

hee, for that it lies in my power to haue you strangled one after the other. *Suet.*

whose tyrannie they Apprehended, I. 2. 120.

Tiberius hauing boyled and reboyled his project in his heart, conceiued that there was not further any danger to declare himselfe, and to forgoe the Councels dissimulation to put on these of Courage, hee sent an Edict to the Senate, forbidding any Sacrifice to bee done to any liuing man, nor to ordayne any kinde of honour to *Seianus*, not enduring to see such honours done to the Subiect, which he held not decent for the Prince.

Tam diu placebit quam diu visum. Sen.

It was then that these men which were friends but of his fortune, declared themselues enemies of his dessignes; Friends of the time, who being come to drinke returne when the bottles are emptie, and as Thunder commonly happeneth when the sky seemeth most cleere, so *Seianus* saw himselfe inveloped with a storme in one of the faireſt dayes of his fortune, hee had many presages of his misfortune; the Theater where hee receiued the salutations of the Calends, breake a sunder, and a Cat past ouerthwart the same. Returning from the Capitoll his Guard pressing through the throng to follow and get before him, fell off from the top of the ladders from whence they cast offenders: Hereupon he counsulted with his Auspicy to know what it presaged: but the birds of good lucke appeared not, hee saw nothing but a flight of Crowes, birds of ill lucke, blacke nightingals of hell which fluttered and

The superstition of the Ancient thought it an ill signe, that a Cat should goe ouerthwart.

Tiberius Grate. going to the Capitol, three Crowes flew about him and there he was slaine. *Val.*

and croaked about him: and there was a ball of fire seene in the Ayre, such as had beene at the death of *Augustus* and *Germanicus*, but no body beleeued that in this flourishing condition hee had beene so neare his Ruine, and for all this they forbore not to call him *Tiberius* his Companion, not onely in the Consulship but in the vniversall Empire.

Vidimus non semel flammam ingentis pilæ specie, quæ tamen in ipso cursu suo dissipata est. Vidimus circa D. Augusti excessum simile prodigium: vidimus cum de Seiano actum est. Sen.

Tiberius to sound their wills and affections wrote often to *Seianus* and to the Senate, one while that he was in good health, anon after that he was in the point of death, at some other times that his strength was restored, that in few daies he hoped to see them and returne to *Rome*; these fainings did profit him, for according to the joy or affliction that these newes procured; or to the hope or feare, he perceiued who depended vpon him, or who vpon *Seianus*, hee entreats the Senate also to send him one of the Consuls with some Convoy to bring him safely.

Prudenda miseratáq; oratione. P. C. precabatur mitterent alterũ in consilibus, qui suũ sed & solum in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari præsidio perduceret. Sen.

He beleiued that the conspiracy was so great against him, that he should not be able to resist it, and had therefore prepared certaine vessels to take his flight withall, and caused Centinels to be placed aloft on the rockes, who by fires made signes of what they discouered. It must be that the Coniuration was very great and very ready, or *Tiberius* very fearefull & abashed, so to lay open the trouble of his spirit, for feare should neuer lodge in the heart of a Prince, who may be well lamented when they who should stand in awe of him doe deterre him.

But the Favorite began to bee troubled, when one told him that he saw the smoake evaporate out of the head of one of his Images, he caused it to be broken to know the cause, and from thence a great Serpent was seene to issue foorth, hee despised not this prodigie, and made a Sacrifice to himselfe for hee was accustomed so to doe, and there was a cord found about the necke of the sayd Statue.

We ought not proudly to despise prodegies this neglect lost *Alexander. App. Perseus. Iustin Luc. Crassus. D. Hal.*

Tiberius judged that the Destinies had conspired to ruine him with their vengeance, but hee continued his dissimulations, bruiting it abroad, that hee meant to raise him to the greatest Office of the Empire, but at the same time he sent away *Nevius Sertornis Macro*, with commaundment to present his Letters to the Senate, to seize vpon *Seianus*, and to let *Drusus* being in prison at libertie, that hee might gather his friends together against the Common enemy, if then were any opposition.

Dion saith, that to Accuse and intrap *Seianus*, *Tiberius* caused it to be bruited in the Senate, that hee would conferre vpon him the dignity of Tribune.

The place of Colonell of the Guards which *Tiberius* bestowed on *Macro*, animated this execution: Princes that will bee well serued, ought alwayes to make the quality of the service to bee seene by the Recompence thereof. Hee came secretly to *Rome* and communicated the Cause of his arrivall to the Consul *Memnius Regulus*, and not to his Colleague, for he was *Seianus* creature; and vnto *Gracinus Laco* Knight of the Watch, he found them disposed to sacrifice this wicked man to the publike hatred.

Nihil nõ aggressuri sunt homines si magna conatis magna præmia proponantur. Liu.

The

The Consul Convoked the Senate for the next day to the Temple of *Apollo*, and caused these wordes to bee fixed to one of the pillars of the Gate:

The Senate did not sit but in Temples or in sacred places.

In a good houre, Memnius Regulus, *shall to morrow at breake of day keepe the Senate at the Temple of* Apollo; *Let the fathers Conscript bee there, there are matters of weight to bee handled. The penaltie of the absent is no excuse.*

This word was *bonum faustum*, to which, may all things prosper.

To giue example vnto others hee was himselfe one of the first that came, hee entred with the badges of his Dignitie, his purple Robe, twelue Sergeants marching before him making cleere the passage, at his entry hee sacrificed Wine and Honey, takes his place in the Ivorie chaire, the other Senatours doe the like and ranke themselues in their places.

Primo luce. Cic.

Hoc illis Curia templum. Virg.

Macro meetes with *Seianus* who was not as yet entred, and seeing him a little troubled that hee brought him no Letters from *Tiberius*, hee rounded him in the eare, that he had some better thing for him, I bring you the power of Tribune; this stayed him, and his friends were presently acquainted with all, and rejoyced at it, hoping that all which Fortune would bestow on the *Romaines* should passe through the hands, or from the mouth of their Master.

Quidam quisq; sortem statumq; habeat in mea manu positum est quod cuique mortalem fortunæ datum velit, meo ore pronunciet. Sen.

Macro presents his Letters and retired, causeth his Souldiers to bee assembled vnder colour of Imparting vnto them the Emperours Commandements; and by this meanes left for the Guard of the Temple the Souldiers of the

Watch; the reſt that followed *Seianus* went to the Campe and to their Enſignes, beeing there, hee aſſured them of the Emperours willingneſſe to acknowledge theyr ſervices and to gratifie them with ſome Preſent. There were not any but liſtened hereunto and promiſed to bee ready in all things, hee choſe a competent number of them to keepe the advenues and the Temple of *Apollo*; this done, hee preſents his Letters to the Senate and told them his charge, and with-drawing himſelfe leaues *Laco* there, and goes to giue order for the other parts of the Towne.

These were preſents of Armes, Pikes, Enſignes, ſcarfes, chaines & of Crownes.

His Letters are Read and doe ſhew the patterne of a troubled and trembling Spirit, which dares not expreſſe but with halfe wordes, that which hee conceiues againſt the ingratitude and treacherie of his Servant; they were mingled with diuers affaires without order, the beginning with indifferent, the reſidue with other things of greater Importance. This was purſued with complaints of the vnmeaſurable power of *Seianus*; then hee deſcends to other occurrents, praying the Senate to make proceſſe of two Senators *Seianus* his inward friends, and in the end commands them, but faintly, to watch ouer *Seianus* his actions, there was not one word of putting him to Death, ſo much hee feared leaſt the Credit he had euery-where ſhould oppoſe it ſelfe, and that in caſe things ſhould not ſucceed according to his deſire, hee might alwayes haue the libertie of expreſſing himſelfe.

The Princes authority is at the loweſt ebb when he dares not declare openly vnto his ſubiects the cauſe of his diſcontent.

This tragicke end of *Seianus* is well repreſented in the French *Tiberius*, of Monſieur *Le Maiſtre* chiefe mederin of *Monſieur*.

But

But as feare beleeues all that it Imagineth, *Seianus* his friends finding not in his Letter what they expected, separate themselues from him as from a place threatned to bee Thunder-strucke; when the Princes favour abandoneth a man, it is dangerous to come neere him, [illegible]grace is Contagious.

Aliquisq; panendo, dat vires fama nulloque authore malorũ, quæ frigen timent. Lucan.

Dion obserues heere how mens mindes are variable, and sayth, that before the Letters of the Emperour were read, there was not a Senatour but did reuerence to *Seianus*, and asked him, how hee would imploy them to doe him service; but finding the minde of *Tiberius* to be changed, they changed at one instant; they that were farre from him looked awry vpon him, they that were neere him went farre off, they that thought it an honour to follow him, thought themselues dishonoured to sit neare him, and where are those men which call to minde benefittes in aduersitie, or thinke themselues bound to the miserable: great friendshippe must not bee sought for at Court, nor any moderate enmitie: this is the cause, that wise men breake with no body, ill will and hatred are but sad plaints, the fruite they beare is alwayes bitter, it yieldes neither pleasure nor profit, if it bee not that of amendment of manners, because the enemy may not lay hold vpon the life or fortune of him, or overthrow or ruine him.

Cicero reproaches the same to *Cateline*, *Aduentu tuo ista subsellia vacua facta sunt.* Cic.

They shrunke from one guilty of high treason.

Quis in adversis beneficiorum seruat memoriã aut quis vllam calamitosis deberi putat gratiam quando fortuna non mutat fidem. Vell.

Vsynoq; sapere oportet id erit cœlũ aterrimũ. Cic.

But *Seianus* should not enter to the Senate when hee

he saw that *Macro* brought him no letters, providence which hath his eye euery where, and which is an assured buckler against fortune, failed him; he should haue retired himselfe, when he had an inckling of what *Tiberius* wrote in this letter and had beene follo[illegible] by them of his faction, the rest would Iudge his power by his courage, but finding nothing to be expressely against him, he beleeued it to bee nothing but the vapours of his way-ward disposition, of his distrust and vnequalnesse: and that there was none so bold in the company, as to offend him.

Presumption despiseth suretie.

The Consul *Regulus* calleth him, he riseth not, not for pride, for hee was much humbled; but becausse hee was not accustomed to obey nor to bee commanded, hee calles him the first and second time, and reaching him his hand saith; *Seianus* come hither? Call you mee, replyed *Seianus*: the Consul saying, yes; *Seianus* aduanced himselfe, then *Laco* Captaine of the Watch goes before him, and all the Tribunes encompasse him, that hee may not scape.

Words of Cõmand are very harsh to them that are not accustomed to obey.

Decretum vt 15 Cal. vtriusque mensis die per omnes annos domũ Ioui sacrarentur. Tac.

The day of this memorable stroake was the Eighteenth of October, It is knowne, for that *Tiberius* ordained that the Fifteenth of the Calends of Nouember should bee solemnized at *Rome*, as well for the death of *Seianus*, as that of *Agrippina*; if we would remarke the yeare, it was the yeare of the foundation of *Rome* VII. C. LXXXV. of the Empire of *Tiberius* the Eighteenth, and from the birth of Iesvs Christ, 34.

There

There was no danger to goe speedily to his tryall, nor to begin his processe with his execution, for the Law of tenne dayes was not then made. All his life had beene a course of Insolency, pride, violence and fury.

S.C. actum vt pœna damnatorum in decimũ semp. diem differetur. Suet.

Dion saith, that in one day hee was Arrested, Condemned, and Executed, and by the shortnesse of the time wee Iudge, of the facility of proceedings, which were at pleasure, they gaue them such delay or dispatch as they pleased, they haue made the processe of *Lentulus* in confederate of *Catiline* in two dayes, that of *Clentulus* held out a long time: *Seianus* was dispatched in one Morning; The day of serious affaires ended at Mid-day, what was done after dinner was as much as out of worke, and thinges agreeable and easie, rather then toylesome and painefull: and the Trumpet which serued the Romanes for a Clocke, hauing stroake the houre of tenne, there was no beginning of a new Relation.

Aristotle disposed of the morning in studying of Philosophy, that was *ergon*, of the afternoone in Eloquence, by *ergon*.

Memnius did not put the letters of the Emperour to Consultation, and that deceiued *Seianus* who trusted to his friends, for if hee had done so, diuersitie of opinions would marre the businesse: for length of discourse would loose time, and dispatch must haue beene vsed that the faction of *Seianus* might not stirre. But to shunne the blame of doing all himselfe, hee commanded a Senatour whom hee knew to bee a good Citizen and well affectioned to *Tiberius*, to deliuer his opinion: *Dion* nameth him

 not,

The Consul demanding the aduice of the Senatour he spake these words.

The Magistrate that discouers a conspiracie and shewes himself fearfull to remedie it, is as culpable as the offendors thē-selues. *Plat.*

The custodie of Illustrious persons were given to Magistrates. *Lentulus* was in the keeping of *Lent. Spencer Cethagus* of Q. *Conscius. Statilius* of C. Cesar. *Ceparius* of *On. Terent.*

The first prison was built by *Ancus Martius* or *Tarquinius*: T. Liu.

Facinus vinci Ciuem Romanum, scelus verberari, parracidium necan.

Cic

not, the same man spoake these words. The present occasion Fathers to conscript, is of so great consequence, that according to the resolution, you will take the Common-wealth is either shaken or confirmed, and we should bee traytors to our Country, vngratefull to our Prince, and vniust to our selues, if wee did not vse sinceritie and fidelitie. *Cæsar* represents vnto vs with one hand the mischiefe, and with the other the remedie; the mischiefe, the coniuration of *Seianus*. The Remedie, the imprisonment of *Seianus*; I make no question but the evill is greater in his knowledge, then hee lets vs to vnderstand in his letters, but I thinke the remedie more extreame then hee hath considered: there is no securitie of the person of *Seianus* in remitting him to a Magistrate who would take charge of him; nor to the Guards, he Commands them; nor in committing him to a priuate house, hee would not remaine there any long time; or what suretie to Caution, in that estate that matters are. But a Prison is onely for slaues, there is not any for a Romane Citizen, nor for a Consul or Senatour, and much lesse for him who commanded the people, the Senate and the Consuls. Our Fathers would forsake their Sepulchers to defend this priuiledge, the onely token of our ancient libertie, for they esteemed, that to tye a Romane Citizen was a great offence, to beate him a Crime, to kill him a parracide; the prison is holden as a place of punishment to the Romanes, and of guard to the barbarous.

They

They onely who knew not *Seianus*, or were not acquainted with *Cæsar* may doubt but that it is necessarie to passe further, it were a great wonder if hee were innocent, but extreame mishap if hee did scape our handes, it is necessarie hee should bee made a president, and that he may not vndoe the Common-wealth, we are to bee sure of him, hee hath Courage enough to drowne himselfe in the tempest, not expecting shipwracke: our Fathers haue seene how C. *Licinius Macer*, seeing himselfe lost and the Iudges readie to deliuer their opinions, hauing got to the toppe of a house, threw himselfe downe headlong, for to haue the honour to dye not condemned but accused, hee would spare the paines to execute him, and would bee his owne Iudge.

Diogenes saith, that some drowned them selues in a tempest before the ship was sunke.

Licinius Macer sent these words to Cicero, *non damnatus sed deus pereo.*

Heere is questioned, the publike safetie, the safetie of the Prince, the confirmation of the State, of our alters, of our Lawes; I am ashamed to place our interest before the Commandements of *Cæsar*. The safest way is the most Iust. We are to thinke of our safety first, before our liues and honours, there is no meanes to stay the mischiefe but in arresting of *Seianus*, nor any arresting of him but in prison, the person, the time and the Crime, doe oblige you to assure your selues of him, and chase away the evill by the evill it selfe, *Seianus* hath raised him selfe vpon the Ruines of the State, the State must raise it selfe vpon the ruines of *Seianus*.

Val. *Alienæ crudelitatis procurationis rationē suscipere.* Sen.

In deliberatiōs we should rather incline to that course which is safe, thē that which is decent or profitable. *Dion. Hal.*

The Senate was very slacke in enduring so much, *Cæsar* conferres a great fauour vpon the people of *Rome*, to deliuer them from this Tyranny, let vs not loose the glorie to haue seconded his piety, there will be more honour in following of *Seianus* into prison, then there was to serue him while he was at liberty; if hee be innocent, the Gods are not

Prauidia Consilia in certo sunt.

Notwithstanding any amazement which seized vpon the Company, this resolution was Hardy, and this aduice was followed, euery one thinking it reasonable to execute, not to examine the will of *Cæsar*; they leade him to prison, and would trust none but themselues in the euent of this Conduct, to the end hee may not escape nor be rescued, so the very same Senators who accompanied him to the Senate, did conduct him to prison, they which sacrificed vnto him as to their God, which kneeled downe to adore him, did skoffe at him seeing him draggd from the Temple to the Iayle, from supreame honour, to extreame ignomy.

Cui genua fleuerant ac vt Deo sacrificauerunt. Dio.

There were some so transported with rage against him, that seeing him let fall a piece of his Robe vpon his eyes, wherewith hee couered his head, (for the Romanes wore no cappes but in the warre or being sicke, nor no hats, but in a journey) they tooke it away from him, stripping him, to doe him the greater affront, and strooke him ouer the face with their fists.

Pallio coccinæ ad rasũ occluserat caput. Petr.

The people laughed at his fall, detested his life,

life, reproached his insolence, Cryed out at the thiefe, and if they were not hindered, hee had not come whole to the prison, for they would drag him instantly to the *Sestercium*, the most infamous place that was in *Rome*, and whether the bodyes of the Slaues were throwne, and Iudging that he was not carried to prison, to let him liue: they ranne to his Statues, they are at one instant broken downe, they may be seene dragged with Ropes into the fire to bee moulten, with the peeces of the head which was adored, as the second of the world: and which made the Senate to quake, they were converted into small implements for kitching vses.

For joy *Dion* makes a notable obseruatiō vpon humane inconstancie.

Lex facie toto orbe secunda fiunt vrceoli pelues sartago patellæ, Iuuen.

There was so small an Interuall betweene his exaltation, and his fall; that hee was no sooner threatned then strucke. And seeing at his comming foorth what was done to his Images; he concluded, that the originall would bee as ill handled, and it was his greatest trouble that hee had not bin prepared long agoe for this misfortune. An ordinarie fault in those which are raised to high dignities, who are men wise till after the blowe, and who hauing the meanes to come downe at their ease, stay still till they bee thrust headlong.

Dion obserues that *Seianus* saw his Statues beaten downe, and by that judged what would follow.

We must prepare betimes for a fall, and rather goe out then stay to be put out.

After that *Seianus* passed the wicket, the Consul to loose no time returned not to the Temple of Apollo, but he entred the Temple of Concord which was neere, to make the processe of the Prisoner; for we should doe wrong to the reputation of the great Iustice of the

Formes are necessarie.

Accusatio crimē desiderat, rem vt definiat, hominem vt notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet. Cic.

Populus Rom: circum subselia coranā facit, Cic.

Antigonius being intreated to adjudge a processe priuatly, he answered, it will doe better in the pallace if wee would doe nothing vniustly. Pl.

Timor perturbatio, suspensus, intercusq; vultus, crebra coloris mutatio quæ fuerunt antea suspitiosa aperta atq; manifesta faciunt. Cic.

Senate, if we did believe that it forgot any forme in any affaire so important, where it was necessarie that the Authoritie of Iustice should cover the defects, which may be in the proceeding for to haue cōmenced the proces by Imprisonment.

The accusers, the witnesses, & the accomplices were heard in full Senate: for the Instruction was publike & the people was as in a round, about the chaires of the Iudges, which caused the authority to be greater; for the Maiesty of the Senate was in sight of all, there was nothing to couer it but the heauens, there was more sincerity vsed; for as many eyes, so many Iudges, and there was more example, all passed with order & discipline.

There is no question to be made, but that he had some excellēt Orator assigned him, more for the Ceremony of his defence then for any opinion of his Innocency, and it is certaine that he was commanded to do his endeauour; for the more stoutly he was defended, the more glorious should be the triumph of truth; & therevpon the Iudges obserued the countenance of the accused and the doubts of his Inuention were often cleared by the trouble of his countenance, the aspect of which very often holds the place of speech.

Sometimes the Senate reporteth to the Prince what they haue decreed.

Macro spoke the word to the Consul, it was *Tiberius* will he should die, there needed no other cōmandement, nor to send him the aduice of the Senate it was necessarie for the state, and though hee had not entred culpable to the prison, his quality permitted not he should depart innocent, the Iudges cannot do amisse when they obey

bey the commandment of the Prince who viewes his affaires with another eye, and with another affection then his Officers.

The Iudges had taken an oath to Iudge according to their conſcience. Neither the Conſuls nor the *Prætor* gaue their vote at all, but recollected thoſe of the others. The number of the Senators was great. *Cicero* reckoned 75. againſt *Piſo*. It was diminiſhed vnder the Emperors and by the Edict of *Auguſtus*, there needed but 40. to frame a Sentence: They deliuered their opinions eyther by voyce or by writing in a little Table which they kept in a *Boxe*, or by ſilence and geſture; as at this day by the Hat or Cap, a ſigne of conſent, or by paſſing away thoſe of one ſide and drawing themſelues together againſt the aduerſe partie, this they called to goe on one foote. Here there was no other but one voyce, *Let* Scianus *dye, let his Poſterity dye, let his memory dye, and his goods be confiſcate.*

Damnaturi Iurant nihil ſe precibus dare. Sen. P.

An expectem dū te ſeptuaginta quinq; tabellæ diripiant. Cic.

Sometimes in notorious crimes they cryed, *Hoſtis, Hoſtis.*

The Senators were ſo provoked, that it is certain, that thoſe who knew the aduantage they had aboue others, as *Albutius* in ſpeaking loude, remained altogether mute to gaine the fauour of the Prince; eſpecially thoſe who had moſt depended on the will of *Scianus*, and doubted not a whit but that which they ſpake amongſt the people that had nothing to looſe, they might ſpeake amongſt the Senators, who eſteemed them for loſt who were now his friends.

Albutius in altercatione vires ſuas nouerat. Sen. P.

Nunquā ſi quid mihi credis amaui Hunc hominē. Iuuen.

Thoſe were the moſt ſharpe, and ſaid, that if *Ceſar* had Clemency hee ought to reſerue it for men, not to vſe it towards Monſters.

Scianus his friends ſhewed theſelues moſt paſſionate againſt him.

If

If the Senate had not beene zealous to conſerue the glory of his gentleneſſe, in deteſtation of horrible puniſhments, they had cauſed him to vndergoe that of Paricides, they had ſeared vppe his fundament, they had put ſhooes with hot burning Coales vpon his feete, or had ſowed him in a ſacke with a Dog, a Cocke, an Ape, and a Viper, wicked liuing Creatures, companions of a wicked man; afterwards they would haue ſent him to the riuer in a Waggon drawne with two blacke Oxen, for a note of the enormity and foulneſſe of the Crime.

In alijs gloriari licet nullis gentium placuiſſe parcendo. T. Liu.

But there was neuer any Common-wealth more curious then that of the *Romanes*, to conſerue the ancient glory of gentlenes and faire carriage. *Metius Suffetius* for his Treaſon was drawne in pieces by foure Horſes. All the people turned away their eyes from ſuch a horror. This was the firſt and the laſt puniſhment of that ſeveritie, which had made the Iudges forget, that the lawes and puniſhments had been ordained, not for Tygers or for ravenous Beares, but for men.

Supplicium exempli parum memoris legum Romanorum. T. Liu.

We muſt repreſent this execution of the Iudgement againſt *Seianus*, in like ſort as the other, but that this was done with more pompe, through the occaſion and for example ſake, and with more diligence and more Guards for ſecuritie, and that more of the Magiſtrates were preſent at it. Heere may be found, that ſummarily which wee might ſeeke for in diuers places, and which is reported diuerſly and confuſedly.

In his Iudgement it was obſerued; *Quo reſerente quo decernente & quo primum aſſentiente.*

The

The Iudgement being signed by him who had made relation of the Acts and the Letters of the Emperour, by him who had first opened the opinion which was pursued, and by the Consull who decreed that which was resolued; they sent to finde out an Executioner, who by the law of the Censors might not dwell within the Citie.

Carnifex non modo foro sed etiam cœlo hoc ac spiritu prohibetur. Cic.

The Trumpet assembled together the people, it sounded before the gates of the Temples, before the house of the condemned person, in the publike places. The Consull, or the Prætor mounted vpon his throne, and disrobed himselfe of his Purple garment, or put is on backwards, or tooke a blacke one, as in a sad and sorrowfull accident; yet notwithstanding without shewing in his countenance either meagerneſſe or choller, but retaining the decency and grauity of the Law, which is neuer angry with any man.

Peruersam induit Magistratus vestem. Sen.

Lex non irascitur sed constituit. Sen.

The condemned person is brought forth, the Hinshers command silence, the Consull pronounceth the Iudgement, which is written in the little Table, and turning himselfe towards the Executioner, said to him, Doe according to the Law, or more plainly, Goe on. Hee abstained from sorrowfull speeches; kill him, binde him, hang him, and was no more moued, then if hee had commanded one of his seruants to tread vpon a Scorpion or a Worme.

Fit a Præcone silentium. Sen.

Quibus animaduertere in damnatos necesse est, non dicunt occide, non morere, sed lege age. Crudelitatem imperij verbo mitiore subducunt. Sen.

The Executioner tyed his hands behinde his back, the Trumpets sounded whilst he prepared the punishment, and that the condemned person disposed himselfe to death. The time was not left altogether at his discretion: *Nero* neuer allowed but one houre for a man to make himselfe fit to receiue the deadly

Noxio post terga ligantur manus. Sen.

Adhibentur legitima verba, canitur ex altera parte classicum. Sen.

strooke. As at Funerals, there vseth to be Instruments which sound with sad and mournfull tunes, with Cornets for the great ones, or with Flutes for the meaner sort, and this they call a Harmony: in like manner at Executions, the Trumpets sounded the battaile, as the alarme, or the *bonteselle*, to goe to death.

Quisnam delator? Quibus iudicijs? quo teste probauit? Nihil horum verbosa & grandis Epistola venit A Capris: bene habet nil plus interrogo. Iuven.

During this, the people being astonished at a Iudgment so soone done, demanded the cause; one asketh for what crime is hee condemned? who is his accuser, what complices, what witnesses? nothing of all this, saith another. A great and a long letter is come from *Caprea* saith a third, that is enough, wee must know no more, all goes well.

Supplicium more maiorum. Tac.

The forme is not expressed other then that which *Dion* speaketh, and the word which he vseth, signifieth that hee was condemned, or executed. This is certaine, that they found out no new manner of punishment for him. When any one was condemned to punishment, according to the manner of the ancients, that was to banishment, the ciuill death of a *Roman* Citizen. The Gallowes, the Impalement, the Crosse, the casting to Beasts, *la hart*: the beheading were to slaues and men of no account. It was a long time agoe said *Petus Thraseas* to *Nero* since any man spake at *Rome* of the Hangman, or of strangling; the Lawes haue ordained punish nents which punish the crimes without infamy for the times, without cruelty for the Iudges. Traitors, Rebels, enemies of the Commonwealth take their leape from the *Tarpeian* Rocke. *Manlius* was throwne downe headlong from a great height vpon the Rocke, and hee had as

Sunt pœnæ legibus constitutæ quibus sine iudicum sævitia & temporum infamia supplicia decernuntur. Tac. Turpeis proditores hostesque publici imponantur. Sen.

Plu-

Plutarke ſaith, the Capitoll for a witneſſe of his moſt valorous deeds, and of his greateſt calamity; this puniſhment was awarded him for hauing attempted againſt the Commonwealth. A puniſhment of all the moſt fearefull, becauſe the Rocke was ſharpe, of an extreame height, the midſt and ſides ſticking out with points like to ſtaies, and if the bodies lighted vpon them, they were bruiſed, or rudely repulſed; there was exceeding horror in the very ſight of them; and he that once tooke this leape was ſure he ſhould neuer take it againe.

Locus idem in vno homine & eximiæ gloriæ monumentum & pœnæ vltimæ fuit. T. Liv.

Moles abſciſſa in profundum frequentibus aſperata ſaxis. Sen.

They alſo cut off the heads of Offendors, not with an Axe or Hatchet, as anciently, but with a Sword, after the ciuill warre: and this kinde of puniſhment was ſo new, that a Curtizan being at the Table of the Proconſull *Flaminius*, and ſaying that ſhee had neuer ſeene it, he cauſed a priſoners head to be ſtrucke off by the Hangman. *Valerius Antius* gaue the like contentment to a Lady which hee loued. Behold theſe iolly Magiſtrates which ieſt with the liues of men, and with the authority of the Lawes, to content their cruell curioſity, one of a Dame of *Plaiſance*; the other of a Harlot, whoſe name was ſo odious, that if the Hinſher had met her in the paſſage to the Senate houſe, and had not chaſed her away, he had offended againſt the dignity of his Office.

Nondum caput erat enſe rotare. Lucan.

Vt iſte cum amica cœnaret iucundius, homo occiſus eſt. Sen.

Maieſtas læſa, ſi exeunti Proconſuli meretrix non ſummouetur. Sen.

Seianus had not his head ſtrucken off, that puniſhment was too gentle in a choler ſo extreame and publike. *Iuuenall* ſaith, that he being drawn through the Citie with a long hooke, the people admired his great head, and his great lippes. I imagine that hee was ſtrangled in priſon, for that was the moſt ordinary

Sejanus ducitur vnco ſpectandus, gaudentomnes quæ labra, quis illi vultus erat? Iuven.

nary punishment, and *Tiberius* vsed it. After hee had caused *Agrippina* to be put to death at *Pandatria*, hee vaunted that he had done her the fauour to giue command that she should not be strangled, and desired that the Senate would thanke him.

Iactauit Cæsar quod non laqueo strangulata, neque in Gemonias proiecta foret. Tac.

His three poore children were carried to prison, his Daughter promised to the Sonne of *Claudius* was defloured at the foot of the Gallowes by the Hangman, because it was not permitted to put to execution one that was a Virgin. *Dion* saith that shee was slaine by the people. *Tacitus* beleeued that his Sonne knew what he would doe, and the fortune which he ranne. Hee had a Daughter so yong and of so little knowledge, that shee ceased not still to say; *What haue I done? whether will they carry mee? who will pardon me? I will doe so no more, there needes nothing but rods to make me more wise.*

Puella a carnifice iuxta laqueum compressa. Tac.

Puella adeo nescia vt crebro interrogaret quod ob delictum? quo traheretur? neque facturam vltra & posse se puerili verbere moneri. Tac.

The Hangman tooke these two by the throat and strangled them. The bodies of them so slaine, were tyed to the *Gemonian* steppes, which bare that name either of the Inuentor, or of the groanes which were heard there. They were like the Pilleries, the shew place of the executions, where they fasten the Portraits and Statues of the condemned persons. The Conciergery, the Court where they pleaded, the Treasury, where they registred the Arrests, were built neere together, the stories in the same place, and at the foot thereof *Tyber*, where they cast in headlong the bodies.

The Gemonian staires in the 13 Region of Rome, which was the hill *Auentin*.

Seneca and *Dion* doe not agree in this: the one saith, that they drew his body about three whole dayes; and the other saith, that the same day that the Senate

Quo die illum Senatus deduxerat, populus in frusta diuisit. Sen.

Senate had accompanied him to the Senate, the same day the people cut him in peeces, and that of a person in whom the gods and men had all that which could be great and precious; there remained nothing for the Hangman, that he could catch hold on with his hooke, and draw it into *Tyber*. To accord them: I suppose that after he was executed, they set him on the staires purposely that the people might see him, and that in this fury they might draw him from thence at that instant, and hauing haled him vpon the the banke of the Riuer, might cut him in peeces, and it might be in 14 parts, so many Regions as the Citie had, and that these peeces were drawne three whole dayes through the streets.

Exeq nihil interfuit quod Carnifex traheret. Sen.

All kinds of outrages were done to this miserable body; some through inhumanity, others through reuenge, most for example, and all to th'end it might not be beleeued that either they had loued or known him. *Iuuenall* relateth the discourse which then was at *Rome*, for euery one gaue the full carcere to his iudgement. Behold here the Prose of those Verses.

I conceiue that manie shall dye: no man needes doubt thereof; the furnace wherein they are to bee cast is great enough. I met the other day my poore Brutidius *neere the Temple of Mars, he was very pale and astonished; I doubt not but if* Aiax *were called he would slay him with his owne hand. But to the end that wee may not be taken to be friends of* Scianus, *and that wee perish without defence, let vs goe quickly runne to that body whilst it is at the banke of* Tyber, *and cry out that we tread vnder our feet the enemy of* Cæsar.

Perituros audio multos Nil dubium magna est fornacula: Dum iacet in ripa calcemus Cæsaris hostem, &c.

He that is a ſeruant, let him renounce and quit his Maſter, let him take him by the necke and ſtop his throat to draw him trembling before the Commiſſaries. This is the way to ſaue himſelfe and alſo to be rewarded.

Afterwards the people in ſecret had this diſcourſe of *Seianus. See then who will follow thee, and who will Court thee as* Seianus *did? haue ſo much wealth as hee, diſpoſe of Dignities, giue the Chaires of Iuory, command the Armies, be eſteemed the Gouernour of the Prince, to performe theſe affaires during the time he was in the ſtreight Grotte of* Caprea, *with a troope of* Chaldeans *and of* Aſtrologians?

Wouldſt thou haue command ouer the troopes which carries the Pike or the Iauelin with three heads? wouldſt thou commaund ouer the Cauallery, ouer thoſe braue Troopes which waite at the Pallace to gard the Prince?

Principis Auguſta Capreārum in rupe ſedentis, Cum grege Chaldæo. Qui nolunt occidere quēquam, poſſe volunt. Vt rebus lætis par ſit menſura malorum. An Fidenarum Gabiorumq; eſſe poteſtas, Et de menſura vis dicere? Numeroſa paratur. Excelſaturris tabulata, vnde altior eſſet? Summa nempe locus:

Why deſireſt thou not this? Thoſe who doe not deſire to kill any perſon, deſire yet the power to doe it. Euery one ſees the honour and the riches, which are yet notwithſtanding ſuch, that the meaſure of euils that follow them equals thoſe of the contentment that they bring.

Doeſt thou loue rather to carry the garment of Seianus, *whom thou ſaweſt drawne through the ſtreets, then to be Ruler of the* Fidenates *or the* Gabij, *or to be Ædile at* Vlubta, *which is almoſt vninhabited, and Iudge of Meaſures, and cauſe them to be broken which are not iuſt? Then muſt needs then confeſſe that* Seianus *neuer knew what he ought to haue deſired. For in ſeeking after thoſe great honours, and thoſe great riches, he did no other then prepare a Scaffold vpon a high Tower, to*

fall

fall downe and precipitate himselfe from the greater height. who turned Crassus *and* Pompey *vpside-downe? and who was he that tamed the old* Romans, *and brought them to endure the whip like slaues? High places which are mounted vnto by cunning or deceit and great desires, which are heard by the maligne starres become the ruine of them that make them.*

Magnaq; numinibus vota exaudita malignis. Iu.

Few Tyrants haue come quietly to the Sonne in Law of Ceres, *and to a naturall death; their death hath seldome beene dry, and blood hath not beene spared to temper with it.*

Seneca saw this Execution, and yet neuertheleſſe hath written nothing of it, although he were of an age that he might well haue obſerued it: for he was at *Rome* fifteene yeeres before the death of *Auguſtus*. He was amazed that of the body of ſo great and ſo mighty a man, there remained nothing for Sepulture.

If an ouergreat ioy ſlew a Mother, what ought an extreame ſorrow to doe? *Apicata* was aſſailed with an incredible ſorrow when ſhee ſaw her children at the Gibbets foot. *Crateſiclea* the Mother of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, whoſe head *Ptolomee* cauſed to be cut off, and his body faſtned to the Croſſe, ſeeing his children ſlaine before her eyes, ſaid, *Alas! my children, whether are you going? Apicata* ſaid to theſe innocents which ſhe ſaw vpon this infamous place; *Poore children, where are you?* In this extremity of ſorrow ſhee retired her ſelfe to her houſe, where ſhee wrote a Diſcourſe of the death of *Druſus*, ſent it to *Tiberius*, and that being done, ſhee ſlew her ſelfe.

Si ad mortem agere matres magnum, gaudium, quid magnus dolor? Sen. *Crateſiclea* had deſired that they would put her to death before her children, but the executioners ſlue them before her face. Plut.

She

Ordo feleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus tormentis Eudemi ac Lygdi patefactus est. Tac.

She had not so long forborne to reueale this enormous offence, if the pitie of her children had not restrained her, for shee knew well, that in crimes of treason, they beare the punishment of the Father. She accused *Seianus*, *Liuilla*, *Lygdus* and *Eudemus*. They being put to the torture, confessed all. *Tiberius* caused many to be tormented, to know who were the complices. It was told him that a man of *Rhodes* was arriued, and not remembring what it was his hoste had bad him doe, he caused him presently to be put to the racke, and hauing discouered the error, commanded that he should be slaine, to the end hee should not discouer the wrong he had receiued. This was to conserue the reputation of a iust Prince by a notorious iniustice.

Errore detecto occidi iussit, ne diuulgaret iniuriam. Suet.

Mihi vita tanti non est, vt armis tegenda sit. Tac.

The death of *Seianus* gaue much confidence and security to *Tiberius*: and when hee was moued to choose twenty Senators neere about him armed, he answered, That his life was not so deere, that hee would submit it to be conserued no way but by arms. But he left not for all that his vicious and vnbrideled manners, and not killing his vices before his owne death, he enioyed not that content to see his enemies dye before him. Neuertheless hee felt the remorse of conscience so violent, that hee protested to the Senate, that he suffered death daily. Hee could not naturally endure to be subiect to the iudgement of men, but he remained conuicted in his conscience, that accused, condemned, and executed him. Whereupon one wise man said who liued in those times, That if the hearts of Tyrants might be seene, they would appeare more vlcerous through voluptuous-

Tandem facinora & flagitia in supplicium vertuntur. Tac. Vt corpora verberibus ita animi saeuitia ac libidine Tyrannorum dilaceratur. Tac.

nesse

neſſe then the bodies of thoſe they had ſlain by their cruelty would doe with their wounds.

Of all his outrages the moſt pernicious was the death of that Architect, who ſo handſomely rebuilt and repaired the Portall of *Rome*, which was fallen downe; and who hauing preſented him a Glaſſe, brake it, and recollecting the peeces, made it vp againe in the ſame place; hauing diſcouered the Art that this materiall, the laſt worke of the fire, might be made obedient and plyable to the hammer. *Pliny* ſaith that hee aboliſhed it, to the end that Gold, Siluer, and Braſſe might not be leſſe prized. What an ornament to the world would this haue beene, if of an hearbe which hath neither beauty nor ſmell, which is good in the taſte neither of men nor beaſts, one could haue made a materiall hard, ſolid and tranſparent?

Perunt Tiberio Principe excogitatum vitri temperamentum vt flexibile eſſet, & totam artificis officinam abolitam, ne aeris, argenti, auri, metalli pretia detraherentur.

An Inuention neuertheleſſe that precedent ages haue beene ignorant of, and that the preſent admired, and that ours will alwayes bemoane: for wee haue not many men that are paſſionate not to permit that which may profit poſterity, to remaine long hidden. *Tiberius* ſpared nothing in his exceſſiue voluptuous and ſuperfluous expences. Hee entertained with the ſweatings and labours of the people an infinite number of perſons, not onely vnprofitable but hurtfull to the Common wealth, and put them to death whoſe induſtry might bring ornament and profit. O what a diſorder both of the times and men! They repine at the recompence of an admirable Art, and *Seianus* ſels one of his Eunuches for 3500. ſeſterces. But this was during the miſeries of

Priſcis temporibus ſummum certamen inter homines, ne quid profuturum ſeculis diu lateret. Plin.

Malus Imperator, qui ex viſceribus prouincialium homines non neceſſarios nec Reip vtiles alit. Lamp.

this raigne, and when no man was permitted to reproue these profusions.

Tiberius rule was yet more terrible and cruell after *Seianus* then it had beene before. He would not admit the people by his death to repaire those ils which he had done in his life.

The most agreable Tribute was the 20. which they tooke of inheritances & legacories, the kindred and poor excepted.

Augustus had ordained a Military Treasury, which he kept full with three sorts of tributes, as with three liuing Springs, with the twentieth part of Inheritances, the fine and twentieth part of the Sale of Slaues, and the hundreth part of all that which was Trafficked for.

Tiberius hauing reduced the Realme of *Cappadocia* to a Prouince, supposed that by the increase of this reuenue the people might be so much the more eased, and therefore instead of the hundreth part hee ordained that they should pay but the two hundreth part. But after the death of *Seianus*, as if repenting himselfe of this fauour, hee raised it to the hundreth part againe. The necessity of his affaires excused him, that could not endure that the Tributes might be touched: this is a fury which taketh the Stare by the throat, if it be not appeased. They which are destinated to this charge, ought to make the people capable of this truth; *If you will peaceably possesse your particular estates, you must needes succour the publike necessities.* When *Anthony* the *Triumuir* was sent into *Asia* to fetch succours from thence, hee represented no other reason then this necessity.

Extraneis facile, domestici graue. Plin.

Da operam, vt omnes intelligant si salui esse velint necessitati esse parendum. Cic. M. Antony in Asia, after the battaile of Phillippi.

To the end (saith hee) *that you be not driuen from your Townes and your Lands, you must needes part with money;*

So Themistocles demanding money

money for the entertainment of the Souldiers. They demand no more then you would giue them freely. You haue giuen in two yeeres to Cassius *and* Brutus *our enemies, the tributes of tenne yeeres. Wee neede onely this to dispatch our affaires, prouided that you giue it at once.* Hee raised hereby 200000. talents, which was 20000. a yeere, which came to twelue Millions.

of the Audrians, told them that he was accompanied with two Goddesses, Perswasion, & Constraint. Plut.

The State if it be weake cannot be maintained in Peace, nor fortified without Armes; Armes cannot be entertained without money, and money comes not but by Tributes. But there must be a moderation, and the Prince imitating *Tiberius* must sheere his Sheepe without scarrifying them, and must render the dispensation chaste, sincere and pure, as of the blood of sweaters, and of the teares of the people, for profitable, necessary, and glorious expences, not for profusions, which bring neither contentment nor reputation.

By the quality of the Tribute one may iudge of the power of the Tributary.

Nec quies gentium sine armis, nec arma sine stipendijs, nec stipendia sine Tributis haberi queunt Tac.

Malo tondere pecus quam deglubere. Tib.

Happy is the Prince that findeth honest men in whom to repose the care of his Exchequer, whereon depends the honour of his Designes, the Maiesty of his Crowne, and the tranquillity of his Estate: for these are the sinewes that giue motion, & the veines that preserue life; and as by the resolution or retyring of the sinewes the Naturall body is sometimes depriued of motion and sence; so the politicke without money cannot be moued nor sustained: in one word, with Treasure may euery thing be wrought and brought to an end. He that hath the last Crowne hath the last triumph: They are sacred, the custody thereof is giuen to *Saturne*, or within his Temple.

Tunc conditum imo Eruitur templo multis intactus ab annis Romani census populi. Lucan.

Cæsar had not knowne how to ruine the liberty, had hee not begun by Sacriledge, despoyling the Treasure of the Commonwealth, which was ramassed together of all the spoyles of the East, and of that which the *Fabricij*, the *Scipiots*, the *Catoes*, and the *Pompeys* had acquired by their victories. One may draw the first remarkeable note of the desolation of an Estate from the vniust and irregular administration of the Treasures.

It is not enough that those who haue the gouernment thereof, haue their eyes open to see that the expence exceedeth not the receipt: the State hath great interest that the meanes of particular persons, may be mannaged without excesse, with order and modesty, as they ought to be acquired, without base dealing. The disorders which may be obserued in Feastings, in Buildings, in the delights and superfluities of priuate houses are symptomes of an estate not onely sicke but dying. Troubles and seditions for the most part are not fomented but by the desperateness of forlorne people, and who haue nothing to loose; of this quality were those that entred into the conspiracie of *Catiline*. Great and excessiue disorders during the raigne of *Tiberius*, but such as were descended from farre off, for hee vsed to say that the *Romans* had learn'd to expend their owne substance from the Ciuill warres, and that of others from strangers. It was a wonder that hauing prouided for so many other excesses hee would not correct the luxury, nor the dissoluteness which were ouerflowne by reason of the disesteeming of the Sumptuary Lawes. This it may be hapned, because he would not begin the

Res familiaris ijs rebus quærenda a quibus abest turpitudo. Cic.

Conuiuiorum luxuria & vestium ægræ ciuitatis indicia mala. Sen.

Mos in Rep. seminarium Catilinarium.

the example of the reformation in his owne house, which surfeited with excesses, or that disorderlinesse was falne into a custome and discipline; or that hee would not pull vpon himselfe vnprofitably and without effect the publike hatred. His greatest reason was that hee would not expose his commands to disesteeme, nor open the veine before he had a swathing-band ready to stay the blood.

Non sum offensionum auidus, graues pro Rep suscipio, inanes & irritas jure deprecor, Tac.

These excellent words which hee spake to the Senate of this subiect ought to be represented to Kings euer when they make Ordinances, whereof the effects are doubtfull and difficult. *A Prince ought rather to dissemble an inueterate disorder, and which hath a great many followers or supporters, then to put his authority in hazard, and make his want of power be knowne publikely, and that there be things which he cannot remedy.*

Omittenda potius præualida & adulta vitia, quam hoc adsequi vt palam fiat quibus flagitijs impares sumus, Tac.

After the execution of *Seianus*, the Senate commanded that the *Statua* of *Liberty* should be erected in the publike place, and that yeerely vpon the same day on which *Seianus* was slain, a Combat on horse-backe should be represented, and that diuers kinds of liuing Creatures should be slaine; a thing that neuer was done before. It was ordained also that immoderate honours should be giuen to no man, and that none should sweare by any other name then that of the Emperour.

All *Seianus* his friends ranne the like fortune with him, and receiued that which they looked for. The Prisons were filled, some condemned to death, others banished, all bereaued of their places of Charge. The Citie resembled a field where nought else was to be

Quam male est extra legem viuentibus, quicquid meruerunt semper expectant. Petr.

seene but bodies dismembred, or Rauens that dismembred them.

Iacuit immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis ætas, illustres, ignobiles. Tac.

Tiberius accustomed himselfe in this manner to executions, that he caused all those to be put to death which were in the prisons accused to haue any intelligence with *Seianus:* they cast forth vpon the pauement a great number of dead men of all ages & conditions, illustrious, noble, base, no man being permitted to stay to behold them, nor to withdraw themselues to bemoane them; for both the one and the other was a crime. *Vitia* was punished by death for that she had lamented *Geminus* her Sonne; and because they could not accuse women for attempting against the State, their teares were criminall.

Feminæ quia occupandæ reip. argui non poterant ob lacrymas incusabantur. Tac.

Intercíderat sortis humanæ commercium, vt metus, quatunq; sæuitiæ glicebatur miseratio arcebatur. Tac.

They iudged of griefe by the countenance, and of passion by the vehemency of the griefe; in such manner, that the bodies which the Riuer *Tyber* had cast vp vpon her banks remained vnburied; so much had feare broken the commerce betweene nature and compassion.

Ausus est amplecti amicitiam quam cæteri falso exuerant. Tac.

There was none which disclaimed not the friendship of *Seianus.* Onely one *Roman* Knight *Marcus Terentius* being accused to be his friend, auowed it freely then when others seemed to haue renounced him. He spake in this manner before the Senate.

Minus expedit agnoscere crimen quam abnuere. Tac. There were 7 of them in all, 4 in the Citie, and 3 in other garrisons.

It may be I might doe better for my fortune to deny the crime whereof I am accused, then to confesse it: But whatsoeuer shall happen I will not say but I was Seianus *his friend, that I desired to be so, and did reioyce that I was possest of his loue. I saw that he was his Fathers companion in the command of the Pretorian Cohorts, and that at one and the same time he managed the affaires of the Citie*

tie and of the Warres. That they that were neere him in friendship were powerfull in the Emperors loue, and all others in cõtinuall feare & in the estate of accused persons.

Cunctos qui nouissimi consilij expertes fuimus, vnius discrimine defendam. Tac.

I will not here alledge any one for example, but I will with the alone perill of my life defend all such as haue had no part in these his last designes: For we did not our seruice to Seianus of Vulsinie, but we followed the party of the House of Claudius, whereof by alliance he had made himselfe the chiefe. We did honour (Cæsar) your Son-in-Law, your companion in the Consulat, and who exercised your function in the Common-wealth.

Non est nostrum æstimare quem supra cæteros et quibus de causis extollas. Tibi summum iudicium dij dedere, nobis obsequij gloria relicta est. Tac.

It belongs not to vs to iudge what he should be, or for what cause you raise one man aboue all others. The gods haue giuen you the Soueraigne disposition of things, and there remaines onely for vs the glory of obedience. we consider what we see, to whom you giue riches and honor, and who may most hurt vs or profit vs, and none can deny but all this was in Seianus.

It is not lawfull to sound the depth of the Princes intentions, nor that which he prepareth in secret, that is doubtfull, and therefore we cannot arriue to it. Consider not the last day of Seianus, but the sixteene yeeres of his prosperity, in those dayes we did honour vnto Satrius and Pomponius his Free-men, and it was a great matter to be knowne of his Seruants and of his Porter. What then? Shall we make no difference betweene those which haue serued Seianus as Seruants to the Emperour, and such as haue followed him in his designes against the Emperour?

Abditos Principis sensus & si quid occultius parat exquirere inlicitum. Tac.

Insidiæ in Rempublicam, consilia cædis aduersum Imperatorem puniantur. de amicitia & officijs idem et te Cæsar et nos absoluerit. Tac.

It is necessary that this distinction should be reduced vnto the iust bounds thereof, to the end they may punish the treasons and conspiracies against the State, and the plotting of the Emperors death, but for the friendship and the

the respect we haue had of him, one and the same reason O Cæsar may well excuse both you and vs.

The boldnesse and constancy of this discourse, which had reference to all that other men could think, was of so great force, that those which had beene accused of being friends to *Seianus*, were distinguished from his complices, and *Tiberius* was praised for hauing confirmed the Decree of the Senate touching the Innocency of *Terentius*, who had not loued his friend, to hate him afterwards or disauowe him.

Getulicus effusæ clementiæ, modicus seueritatis mirum amorem adsciuit. Tac.

Lentulus Getulicus went yet another way then *Varro*. *Abudius Rufus* accused him to haue treated about the marriage of his Daughter with *Seianus* his Sonne: this man was in great credit and authority in *Almany*, by reason of his sweetnesse and modesty. He spake a farre off, and on Horsebacke, and neere the Armies. *Tiberius* therefore caused his accuser to be banished, and condemned. An Act of the wisedome of a Prince neuer to threaten him that is secure from not being hurt by his blowes.

Boldnesse proceedes not alwaies from courage, but from place & from the cause Idem error Principis sine fraude, alijs exitio non est habendus. Tac.

Getulicus was aduertised thereof, and knowing the humour of *Tiberius*, who was fast to his opinion, retired not himselfe easily, and according to the temper of his choler hasted or foreslowed his reuenge, gaue him to vnderstand that he was in such estate, that hee would not forget his own safety for that of anothers, and sent him this Letter alike proud and bold.

The alliance of which (O Cæsar) I haue treated with Seianus, *is not altogether of my motion, but by your Counsaile. It may be I haue beene deceiued after you, but one and the same fault ought not to be the discharge of the one, and the ruine of the other. My faith hath beene en-*

tire

tire hitherto, and shall not change if they doe not raise some party against me, and whosoeuer shall come to succeede in my charge, I shall receiue him as one who hath attempted vpon my life. Let vs agree by way of treaty, let the Empire remaine to you, to me my Gouernment.

Successorem non aliter quam inditium mortis acceptutum. Tac.

Nothing but the distance of place excused, the inciuility of this Letter. He alone of *Seianus* his friends after *Terentius* saued himselfe: *Tiberius* held downe his head, and shrunke vp his sholders, for his matters were sustained more by reputation then by power. His decayed old age retrenched his hopes, and publike hatred increased his distrusts.

Princeps cæterarum rerum potiatur ipse prouinciam retinem. Tac. Publico odio & extrema ætate res principis stant magis fama quam vi. Tac.

Mamercus Scaurus was one of *Seianus* his friends, but his friendship had not so much power to ruine him as the hatred of *Macro*, who was no lesse sharpe then the other in ruining his enemies, but hee went about it more cunningly and secretly. He was worthy of the friendship of *Seianus* for the conformity of his humours to his pleasures, which *Seneca* reporteth to be so beastly, that the onely thinking of them, sullies the Spirit, he tarried not till he was condemned, but beleeued *Sextia* his wife, who perswaded him to kill himselfe.

Haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis edium qui easdem artes occultius exercebat. Tac.

P. Vitellius who had so constantly vpheld the cause of *Germanicus* against *Piso*, was accused to haue offered to *Seianus* the monies belonging to the Commonwealth, for hee was one of the Officers of the Treasury. His Brothers answered for him, but perceiuing that his processe hung long, he grew weary with languishing betweene hope and feare, and opened a veine with a launcer. His friends stanched the blood and bound vp that Spirit which was going

P. Vitellius ærarij præfectus militarem pecuniã rebus nouis obtulerat. Tac.

out, loathing to lodge in a body which being moſt ready to dye, ſtayed not it ſelfe but with much griefe and ſorrow.

In cuſtodia morbo perijt, Suet.

Pomponius was ſicke in the ſame Hoſpitall where the reſt were, but his patience made him ſuruiue, *Tiberius* would haue him put to death becauſe *Velius Gallus* was thrown into his Garden the ſame day that *Seianus* was drawne through the ſtreets.

Dum fortunam aduerſam æquus tolerat, Tiberio ſuperſtes fuit. Tac.

Tiberius lamented *Seianus* not for loſſe of him, but for his owne intereſt; for as long as he liued, whatſoeuer he did that was vniuſt or cruell, hee caſt all the blame vpon him, and after his death there was none tooke part with him in the publike hatred.

Honoribus functus es? Numquid aut tam magnis aut tam vniuerſis quam Seianus? Sen.

By ſo much as the proſperity of *Seianus* had beene admired, by ſo much his fall miniſtred terror and aſtoniſhment. Neuer any man before him had receiued more great, more vniuerſall, more vnlooked for honours; and all the fauours and dignities which all the Kings of *Europe* could heape together to raiſe a man, could not be paralleld with theſe here. He made his power be knowne to all, and a long time and euery where. For ſixteene yeeres ſpace hee poſſeſſed the ſoueraigne power of an Empire that commanded ouer all the world, and which firſt had taken for its limits the riſing and the ſetting of the Sunne. *Euphrates* ſhut vp the frontires thereof towards the Eaſt; the Mont *Atlas*, the *Cataracts* of *Nile*, and the Deſerts of *Africke* towards the South; the Ocean Sea towards the Weſt and *Danubius* towards the North; ſo that whetherſoeuer the Sunne went, thither went alſo his commands. What glory euer mounted more high, or deſcended more low?

Dis multumq; ſingulis quid poſſet oſtendit. Sen.

Clauſam mari aut fluminibus longiquis imperium. Tac.

Who-

Whosoeuer shall behold a high Mountaine peering ouer a great Valley to be made leuell, to be digged down & swallowed vp in an instant of time, will he not be astonished? yet this is not more strange then to see these great *Colossi* to be cast downe in a moment. We finde in it cause of astonishment, and yet neglect the example: Euery man trusts to his owne Iudgement, thinking to walke the same way, but the passages of some are more secure then of others. One onely Vessell which shall be prosperously returned from a long Nauigation is able to make a hundred persons resolute to vndertake the same voyage; and the shipwracke of one hundred Vessels hath not the power to hinder one onely; for euery one thinks that ill fortune is not ordained for him.

To see great ones ruined is to see great mountaines levelled.

Euery man thinks to do better and to guide himselfe more wisely then those that are lost.

Macro Captaine of the Guard, and *Laco* Knight of the Watch were better aduised, the Senate for this great seruice of theirs appointed to them great honours. To the first the Office of Prætor, with power to sit in the ranke of the Senators, cloathed with a purple robe at Playes and publike assemblies; and to the second the Office of Quæstor: they refused them, and *Dion* attributeth the reason of their refusall, to the terror of an example so fresh in their memories.

Great seruice done for the State, ought to be recompenced with honor, and not with money.

They supposed it would be a great impudence in them to run against the same rocke on which *Seianus* had perished. It is much better to be taught by anothers misfortune then by a mans owne; the wise man makes his profit out of the shame and hurt that toucheth not him at all: and as *Triacle* is made of *Vipers*, and they extract healthfull medicines from poysons them-

Optimum aliena insania frui. Plini. There be some that cannot become wise by others examples, but by their owne ruine.

themselues, so from the fals and miseries of bad men good men may draw precepts for their guidance.

Nemo vnquã imperium flagitio acquisitum bonis artibus exercuit. Tac.

Seianus shall be euer alleadged as a prodigious example of extreame insolency, and of vnfortunate ambition; and his Tragicall end may teach vs that no man can euer vse power well which is ill gotten, that we must not iudge of a mans happinesse before his death, nor of the day before the euening, nor of the building that is not finished; *Death*, *Fortune*, *Time*, and *Course change in a moment*. That fauour which is acquired by merit or good fortune is lost through insolency, and the most confident and assured ought not to depend but vpon the supreame grace of the Prince.

Aluares de Luna, told them who admired his fortune with the K. of *Castile*, you do wrong to commend the building, before it be finished.

FINIS.